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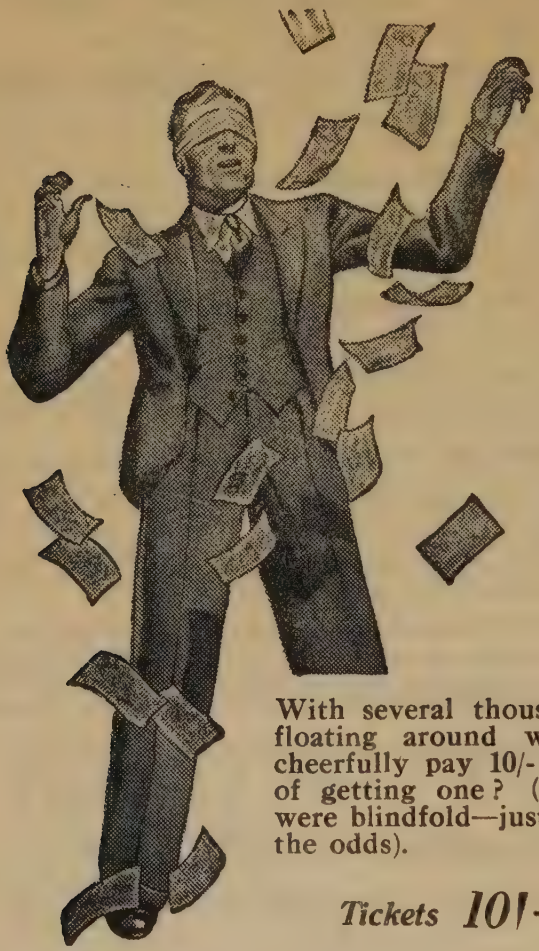

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STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

JUNE 1932

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The Eucharist in Art

Photo. Mansell

THE LAST SUPPER by Giotto

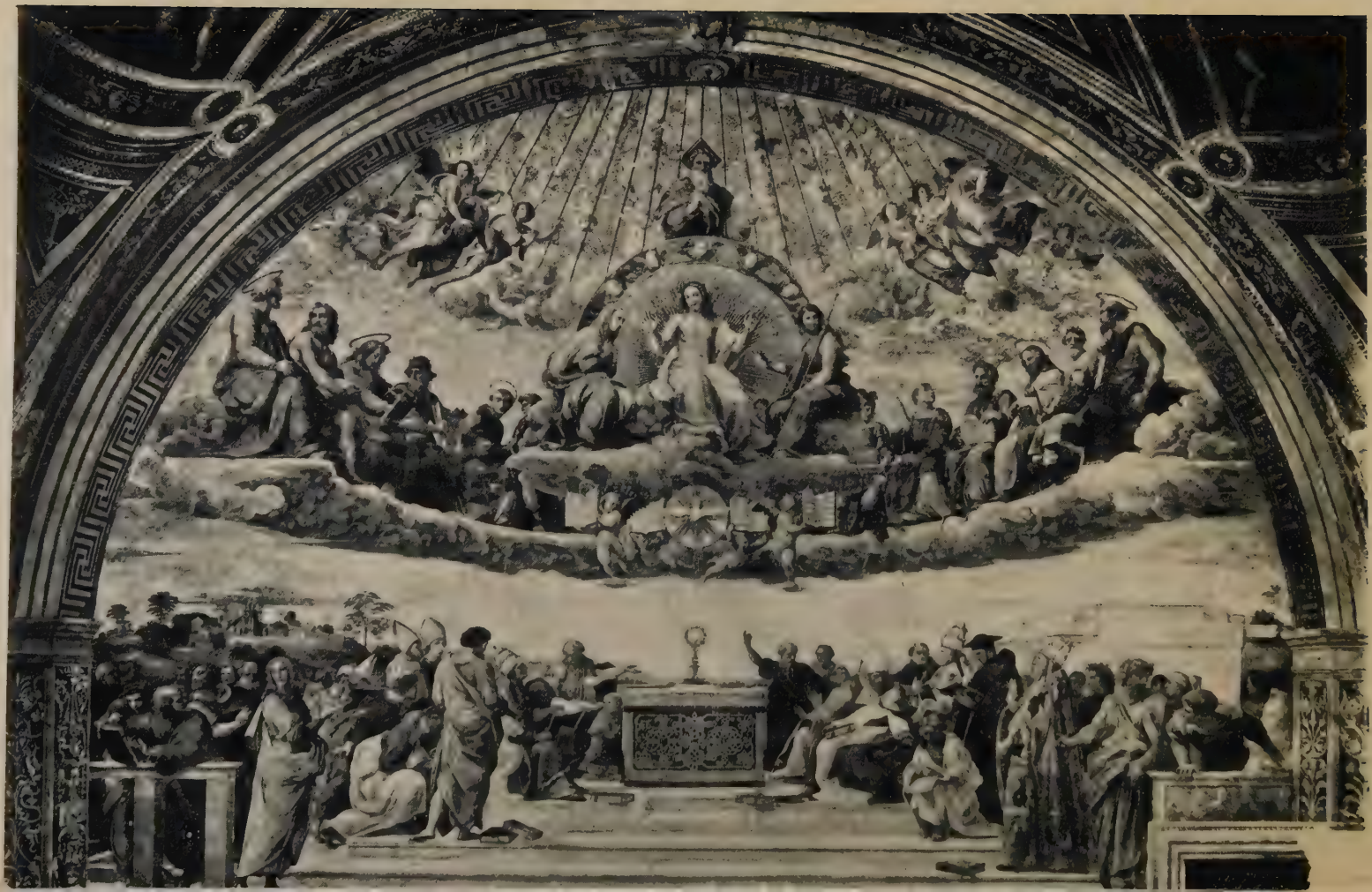
Giotto di Bondone (1266-1377), the Florentine artist with whom the Italian Renaissance may be said to commence, was commissioned by a wealthy citizen of Padua to decorate with frescoes the church of Santa Maria dell' Arena in that city. The painting reproduced is one of these frescoes. It depicts the moment when Our Lord speaks the words: "He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, he shall betray me."

Florence THE LAST SUPPER by GHIRLANDAIO *Photo. Mansell*

Domenico Bigordi Ghirlandaio (1449-1494) was, writes Sir Charles Holmes, "a typical Florentine craftsman, well-trained, prosperous,

Venice THE LAST SUPPER by TINTORETTO *Photo. Mansell*

Jacobo Robusti, called Tintoretto (little dyer) from the trade of his father, was born in Venice on 16 September 1518 and died there on 31 May 1594. Of him Ruskin write in *Modern Painters*: "I conceive him to be the most powerful painter whom the world has seen."



Ghent THE ALTAR OF THE LAMB by HUBERT and JAN VAN EYCK *Photo. Mansell*

This painting, the most famous of the Flemish School, was completed in 1432 and placed in the church of St Bavon, Ghent, where it still hangs. The centrepiece, which is here reproduced, illustrates this dogmatic truth: the blood of the Lamb, which is shed on the altar unto the remission of sin, is poured into the Eucharistic chalice and given to the Church

Louvain

THE LAST SUPPER by Dierick Bouts (1410-1475)

This painting, ordered in 1464 by the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament for the chu of St. Peter in Louvain, consists of five panels. The central panel, which is here reproduc depicts the moment : " Whilst they were at supper Jesus took bread, and blessed, and bra and gave to his disciples and said : Take ye and eat. This is my body."

ouvre *Photo Viollet*

THE DISCIPLES AT EMMAUS by Rembrandt (1606-1669)

"And it came to pass, whilst he was at table with them, he took bread, and blessed, id brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him."

Venice *Photo. Naya*

COMMUNION OF ST. LUCIA by TIEPOLO

Giovanni Battista Tiepolo—born in Venice in 1693, died in Madrid in 1770—is the last of the great Venetian painters.

SAINT PASCHAL BAYLON

Patron of Eucharistic Congresses

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

THE historian, Tacitus, as is well known, located Ireland somewhere, if not exactly midway, between Britain and Spain—*Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita.* Moreover he seems to imply that the racial type of Spanish origin which he identifies with the Silures of Wales was even more numerously represented in Ireland than on the neighbouring shores of Cambria. Without accepting the whole Milesian legend, there is nothing to prevent our believing that in pre-Christian days a not inconsiderable immigration of primitive tribes extruded from the Iberian peninsula may have taken place through France or across the Bay of Biscay. But whether we do or do not recognise any tie of blood between the peoples of Ireland and Spain, these countries have always been united by a bond of close sympathy. It seems in a manner significant that Irish scholars have done so much to make the treasures of Spanish literature familiar to an English-reading public. Most of us would know little of that most characteristic of Spanish poets, the priest Calderon, if it were not for Denis Florence McCarthy's translations, and even the Protestant Archbishop, Trench, showed an appreciation for the " Autos Sacramentales " which is little short of astounding considering the times in which he lived.

The fact, then, that St. Paschal, Patron of the Congress, was a Spaniard will only be an additional commendation to a Catholic people whose stubborn resistance to heresy in this matter of the Mass and the Real Presence recalls the battle fought in still older days upon Spanish soil against the overwhelming forces of Islam. Paschal Baylon,

who was born in 1540 and died in 1592, was a contemporary of the beginnings of that great struggle for the preservation of Catholic faith in the Eucharist which has lasted on in Ireland down to our own day. Whether he himself knew very much of what was going on in these northern islands must be a matter of doubt. St. Paschal can have had little to do with either controversy or politics. The dominant characteristics of this holy lay-brother were his absorption in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, his modesty and self-effacement, his devotion to the humble duties of his office, and his unfailing response to every appeal of charity. It is true, as we shall see, that during one memorable episode in his life he had personal experience of the fanaticism of heretical unbelief, but this was in France and at a time seemingly when no open rupture yet existed between England and the court of Spain. Towards the end of his days he can hardly have failed to hear of the sailing of the great Armada, but I suspect that it will all have seemed to him something very remote. The securing of a few extra loaves to distribute at the gate among his beloved poor, will have been to him a matter of much more practical interest.

Although the nature of Paschal's call to the religious life was such as could leave barely a trace upon contemporary records, his biographers have one advantage which is withheld in the case of many saints whose career was more generally influential. What we are told about him comes to us from the lips or from the pen of those who had lived with him, some of whom knew him intimately. He went to his reward on 17 May, 1592, but less than seven years later the story of his life had been written down by his dear friend and, one might say, disciple, Father John Ximenez, then a Provincial of the Order, who in his narrative was also able to quote from the early depositions made by witnesses in the *processus informativus* already instituted by the bishop of the diocese in view of the beatification which was hoped for. The book,

owing no doubt to the fact that the manuscript was submitted to manifold censorship, was not actually published until 1601[1]; but one censor's enthusiastic commendation is dated 10 April, 1599, and a "royal privilege," securing what was practically copyright, was issued on September 2 of the same year. It is to be noticed also that inasmuch as Paschal died at the comparatively early age of 52, more than one of those who had been the companions of his youth outlived him and were able to give evidence of their early recollections. These depositions have been preserved to our own day in at least two copies,[2] and though I fear that such testimony of "eye-witnesses," even when given upon oath, is apt after an interval of half a century to be so coloured by pious enthusiasm or blurred by failing memory that it cannot always be implicitly trusted, still it is plainly a great deal better than anything which comes to us upon mere report at second or third hand. It is curious in this respect to contrast the information we possess regarding St. Paschal, with that available in the case of St. Peter of Alcantara, the creator of that very Franciscan reform in which Paschal took the habit. The earliest connected account of the great ascetic, St. Teresa's friend, which can now be traced, dates only from 1619, when he had been dead more than 50 years, and even this is not exactly a biography. Similarly, by a curious anomaly, our simple lay-brother Paschal Baylon, whose life was entirely hidden from the eyes of the world, was beatified in 1618; whereas Peter of Alcantara, the famous preacher, organizer and director of souls, whose ascetical influence was felt throughout and beyond the Spanish dominions, was not raised to the altar until four years

[1] *Chronica del B. Fray Pasqual Baylon.* Por Fray Juan Ximenez. Valencia 1601. The volume is dedicated to King Philip III. and contains the formal approbation of Juan de Ribera, the Archbishop of Valencia, himself subsequently beatified. There is a copy in the British Museum.

[2] One copy is in the keeping of the Postulator General of the Friars Minor, the other in their house in Rome dedicated to the Forty Martyrs.

later, sixty years after his holy remains had been laid to rest at Arenas.[1]

Thanks, then, to Father Ximenez and the beatification witnesses, we are fairly well-informed regarding Paschal's early days. He was born at Torre Hermosa, on the borders of Castile and Aragon, on a Whit Sunday, and to that accident he seems to have owed his Christian name; for in Spain, as well as in Italy, the term *Pascua* is given to other great feasts of the year besides Easter. Pentecost is, or at any rate was, the *Pascua de Cincuesma* or *Pascua del Espiritu Santo*, while Christmas is the *Pascua de Navidad*. So the little son born to Martin Baylon and his wife Elizabeth Jubera was called Pascual, just as we are told that the famous Cervantes was christened Miguel because he came into the world on St. Michael's day. The pious couple possessed little in the way of worldly goods, but they owned a flock of sheep, and from his seventh to his twenty-fourth year Paschal, first as the deputy of his own father and then serving other employers, led the life of a shepherd or goat-herd. One is perhaps accustomed to think of such pastoral occupations as identified with almost complete solitude. St. Patrick on the mountain side alone with the glories of nature, or in the companionship of God's dumb creatures, describes how love and awe grew in his heart, and how he used to stay through the night in the wood or on the hillside in order to pray. "And before the dawn I used to be aroused to prayer, in snow and frost and rain, nor was there any tepidity in me such as I now feel, because then the spirit was fervent within." One remembers too the life of St. Germaine Cousin, the occasions when St. Jeanne d'Arc's "voices" first came to her, and the early experiences of St. Felix of Cantalice, St. Vincent of Paul and the holy Curé d'Ars. Ever since the days of Bethlehem a special

[1] It is to be noted however that the canonization of St. Peter took place in 1669, that of St. Paschal in 1690. St. Paschal himself is said to have delayed it, that precedence might be given to St. Peter.

blessing seems to have been reserved for the pastoral life led under the canopy of heaven.

But Paschal had resolutely to make special opportunities for himself in order to be alone with God and his own pious thoughts. The normal shepherd's life in Spain at that date was far from lacking in companionship and by no means free from temptation. One has only to read some of the early chapters of Don Quixote—Cervantes was born in the year that St. Paschal was seven years old—to convince oneself of the fact. The troops of "cabreros" and "zagales," under the direction of a "mayoral," seem regularly to have kept in close touch with one another as they led their flocks and herds from pasture to pasture. Such associations are fertile in occasions of mischief unless some strong influence is dominant, or religion comes in to check the licence engendered by a wild, free life in which hands for the most part hang idle. Some of the incidents ascribed to that time, and of which Father Ximenez says nothing, are probably legendary, but one or two certain facts stand out: for example, that this poor shepherd lad, who never had any schooling, taught himself to read and write, being determined to recite the Little Office of our Blessed Lady, the central feature of the *Horae B. Mariæ Virginis*, then the prayer-book universally in use among all lay-folk. It was noticed with surprise that he went barefoot despite the briars and rough, stony mountain tracks, lived on the poorest fare, fasted often, and wore under his shepherd's cloak some sort of imitation of a friar's habit. He could not always get to Mass, but when he was unable to leave his charge in the early morning, he knelt for long spaces of time, absorbed in prayer, his eyes fixed upon the distant sanctuary of Nuestra Senora de la Sierra where the holy sacrifice was being offered. Fifty years afterwards an aged shepherd who had known Paschal in those days deposed that on such occasions the angels more than once brought the Blessed Sacrament suspended in the air above a chalice

to the pious lad that he might gaze upon it and venerate it. He is also alleged to have had a vision of Saints, identified by conjecture with St. Francis and St. Clare, who directed him to offer himself to God in the Order of Friars Minor discalced.[1] More convincing than this testimony is the evidence given of his scrupulous sense of justice. The damage which his beasts, in spite of all his efforts, occasionally caused to the vines or growing crops was to him a continual source of worry. He insisted that compensation should be made to the owners and often paid for it out of his own slender wage. In that matter his fellows, though they respected him for it, thought he went to absurd lengths.

When Paschal, seemingly about the age of 18 or 19, first sought admission among the discalced Friars Minor, St. Peter of Alcantara, the author of the reform, was still living. The austerity of the rule which he had revived was only equalled by the fervour of those who practised it. Probably the friars of the Loreto convent, knowing nothing of the young shepherd who came from a district 200 miles away, doubted his fortitude. At any rate they put him off, but when they admitted him some few years later, they soon realised that God had committed a treasure to their keeping. The community lived at the level of the first fervour of the reform, but Brother Paschal even in this ascetical atmosphere was recognised as being pre-eminent in every religious virtue. One is apt to regard with some distrust the extravagant eulogiums of hagiographers who, writing at a great distance of time and holding, it may be, a relatively low standard of what perfection demands, take every superlative they find recorded in commendation as a guarantee of heroic

[1] These stories, I must confess, do not seem to me very reliable; first, because Paschal was unlikely to make such favours known to his fellow shepherds—it is from them in their old age that we learn these things—and secondly, because we hear little or nothing of visions when he did become a friar and was under the continual observation of his brethren. They credit him with miracles without number, but not so much with visions and ecstasies.

sanctity. But no discerning reader, I think, can make himself acquainted with the description which Father Ximenez has left of his friend without realising that we have here no conventional panegyric, but a straightforward statement of his own inmost conviction. In charity towards all, especially the poor, in humility, modesty, patience, uninterrupted labour and the practice of an almost extravagant poverty; in joyous equanimity despite a penitential life which was incredibly austere, Paschal was a marvel even to those mortified men who shared the same hard external conditions and were bound by the same rule. In what he deemed to be matters of conscience he was inflexible. One likes the story of the ladies who when Paschal was porter came to the door to ask the Father Guardian to come down to hear their confessions. "Tell them," said the Guardian, "that I am out." "I will tell them," amended Paschal, "that your Reverence is engaged." "No," the Guardian insisted, "tell them that I am not at home." "Forgive me, Father," objected the brother very humbly and respectfully, "I must not say that, for that would not be the truth and would be a venial sin"; and thereupon he returned to the door in perfect peace of mind. It is such little flashes of independence which relieve the monotony of the catalogue of virtues and enable us to see something of the human element in a soul so exalted and purified.

It is pleasant too to read of the little devices by which Paschal schemed to secure special delicacies for the sick, the poor, and those whom he regarded as exceptionally deserving, as well as of the tears sometimes seen in the eyes of this austere man, who normally repressed all signs of emotion, when he was brought into contact with some pathetically hard case. Although, it seems, he never laughed, a thing not so surprising in a Spaniard—is it recorded that St. Ignatius Loyola ever laughed ?—still he was gay, and there was nothing gloomy about his devotion or even his spirit of penance. Ximenez tells us how on

one occasion when Paschal was refectorian and had shut himself in to lay the tables, another friar peeping through the buttery-hatch caught sight of the good brother executing an elaborate dance, like a second *tombleur de Notre Dame*, leaping high and moving rhythmically backwards and forwards, before the statue of Our Lady which stood over the refectory door. The intruder withdrew noiselessly, but coming in again a few minutes later with the customary salutation, "Praised be Jesus Christ," he found Paschal with so radiant a countenance that the memory of the scene was a spur to his devotion for many days afterwards. It is no small tribute that Father Ximenez, who was, as stated above, himself a Provincial of the Alcantarines, within little more than half a century of their inauguration, says of St. Paschal: "In no single case do I remember to have noted even the least fault in him, though I lived with him in several of our houses and was his companion on two long journeys; such journeys being commonly an occasion when a man, worn out with the fatigue and the monotony, allows himself some indulgence which is not entirely free from blame."

It is, however, as the Saint of the Eucharist that St. Paschal is best remembered outside his own native country. Many years before the great work of annual Eucharistic Congresses was instituted and our Saint was nominated its patron, the title page of Father Salmeron's Spanish biography bore the heading *Vida del Santo del Sacramento S. Pascual Bailon*. The long hours which he spent before the tabernacle, kneeling without support, his clasped hands held up in front of, or higher than, his face, had left a deep impression upon his brethren who over and over again had watched him praying in this attitude. No wonder that he was for them the "Saint of the Blessed Sacrament." The recognition of this special characteristic goes back to his earliest biographer. Ximenez tells us how the good brother, whenever he had a moment free from his other duties, invariably made his way to the

church to honour the presence of Our Lord, how it was his delight to serve Mass after Mass in succession beginning with the very earliest, how he stayed behind in choir when at the conclusion of Matins and Lauds the rest of the community had retired again to sleep, and how the dawn found him there still on his knees, eager as soon as the bell rang to descend from the choir to the church in order to visit the altars at which the holy sacrifice was to be offered. It is interesting at the same time to note a curious passage in which Father Ximenez, writing, it will be remembered, about 1597, refers to his Communions :—

> He received Communion most piously, not twisting up his face or heaving deep sighs after the fashion of some of our new devotees, who while seething with imperfections like must [this was written, of course, in a vine-growing country] betray the fact, and let it plainly be seen what very new wine they are, but he came with a radiant countenance, peaceful and modest, manifesting thereby the joy bred in his soul by the presence of such a Guest. In order to entertain Him he prepared himself the night before Communion by making a fervent confession, a thing which he also did on many days when he abstained from Communion. For in his case Communion was not a daily occurrence, as it is wont to be nowadays with many people very much less well-equipped with virtue than he ; and if you touch them on the matter ever so lightly, they flash out and tell you that other learned and spiritual men have given them permission for this, pressing the point with many authorities from holy doctors and with abundance of arguments, the which are so thought out and are reeled off with such glibness that they do not give you a chance of suggesting that from time to time they should content themselves with no more than the confession of their sins and communicate spiritually, holding themselves unworthy of sacramental Communion, and that in return for such humility Our Lord will bestow upon them as much grace, and perchance even more, than if they communicated only of their own will and pleasure. What I feel about it at the present time is this, that if the holy brother Paschal could be asked for his advice he would give them no other counsel ; sufficient evidence for which is to be found in the fact that this was his own practice. I am not here condemning anything done by learned and spiritually-minded confessors in dealing with certain particular souls who

by long experience they have found to be benefited by such frequency. On the contrary I approve it, and only express the wish that we were all of us such that we could communicate every day with increase of perfection and with amendment of life.[1]

I cannot help suspecting that these last sentences may have been inserted in deference to certain criticisms of the censors. The long interval between the completion of the Life and its appearance in print suggests that some of Father Ximenez's rather frankly expressed opinions may not have been approved by all those to whom they were submitted. He adds in this chapter some specimens, too lengthy unfortunately to quote, of the simple but very devotional prayers recited by Paschal at the time of Communion. Whether they were his own composition, as his biographer supposes, is not so clear. The Saint had long kept what he himself calls a *cartapacio* (a home-made scrap-book, formed, it seems, out of odds and ends of paper which he had rescued from the rubbish-heap—such was his practice of poverty) and in this he noted down in a beautiful handwriting certain prayers and pious reflections which he had either come across in his reading or had composed himself. One at least of these books—there seem to have been two—is still preserved.[2] Shortly after Paschal's death some of these prayers were brought to the notice of Blessed Juan de Ribera (he was beatified in 1796), then Archbishop of Valencia and titular Patriarch of Antioch. He was so impressed that he begged to have a relic of this holy lay-brother who, it seemed to him, had achieved so perfect an understanding of spiritual things. When a relic was brought him by Father Ximenez, this Father tells us that the Archbishop said to him: "Ah!

[1] *Chronica del B. Fray Pasqual Baylon*, por Fray Juan Ximenez, pp. 362-364 (Ed. 1601). Although the Bollandists give a Latin translation of this Life they condense or omit many passages, like the above, which do not directly bear upon the history of the Saint.

[2] The best part of the contents have been printed by Father Jaime Sala under the title of *Opúsculos de San Pascual Bailon*, Toledo, 1911. Some of the passages may be Paschal's composition, but a note in his own hand describes them only as "extracts faithfully copied from many good books."

Father Provincial, what are we to do? These simple souls are wresting heaven from our hands. There is nothing for it but to burn our books." To which Ximenez answered: "My Lord, it is not the books that are in fault, but our own pride. Let us burn that."[1]

It was mentioned above that St. Paschal in his own person had had some experience of the ferocity with which Protestant reformers manifested their hatred of Catholic teaching and their malevolence against all faithful sons of the Church. He was on one occasion sent into France as the bearer of an important communication to Father Christopher de Cheffontaines, the very learned Breton scholar who at that time was Minister General of the Observants.[2] For a friar wearing the habit of his Order the journey across France at that time, when the wars of religion were in their most acute phase, was extremely dangerous, and the choice for such an errand of a simple lay-brother, who certainly did not know any French, remains a mystery. Perhaps his superior believed that his simplicity and trust in God would carry him through where more diplomatic methods would fail. He succeeded in his mission, but was very roughly handled; on several occasions barely escaping with his life. At one town in particular, where he was stoned by a party of Huguenots, he seems to have sustained an injury to his shoulder which was a cause of suffering for the rest of his days. At Orleans, we are told by most of his biographers, even by Ximenez, that he was questioned as to his belief in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and that, when he unhesitatingly made profession of his faith, the heretics instituted a sort of formal disputation in which they were worsted by the good brother who was preter-

[1] *Chronica*, p. 256.

[2] The date of this journey is uncertain. Father Gröteken, in what is probably the most scholarly Life of St. Paschal, *Paschalis Baylon. Ein Heiligenbild aus Spaniens goldenem Jahrhundert* (Einsiedeln 1909) points out that the Beatification Process says it was 1570. But Father de Cheffontaines did not become Minister General until 1571.

naturally aided from on high. Here again in their fury the heretics stoned him, but he escaped, because all their missiles fell wide of the mark. It seems, I must own, a little difficult to believe in such a disputation in argumentative form with citation of authorities. Paschal knew no French, and though he understood enough Latin to read the Office of Our Lady he could hardly carry on a debate in that language, unless we suppose a rather unusual form of miracle. I do not doubt that he would have made it clear to his assailants that he believed in and deeply venerated the real presence of Our Lord in the Eucharist, and it is likely enough that he was outrageously treated in consequence; but the story of the silencing of the Huguenots by his arguments seems to be due to some misinterpretation by his enthusiastic brethren of his own modest account of what actually took place.

St. Paschal died, as he was born, on a Whit Sunday, in the friary dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary at Villareal. It was held to be significant of his life-long devotion to the Blessed Sacrament that with the holy name of Jesus on his lips he passed away just as the bell was tolling to announce the Elevation at the High Mass. He had long been honoured as a saint, owing to the miracles of all kinds attributed to him in life, especially in his dealings with the sick and poor, and these miracles were multiplied beside his bier. He is also said, though Father Ximenez does not seem to have heard of the incident, to have opened his eyes at the Elevation of the Host and Chalice while lying before the high altar. There can be little doubt that the unusually great number of remarkable cures, reported then and later, influenced ecclesiastical authorities to take such speedy action in the matter of his beatification. But long before this purpose was attained, a new factor intervened which by its strange and unprecedented character must certainly have had the effect of attracting wide-spread attention to the servant of God and to the tomb in which his relics were laid.

The first witness of the extraordinary knockings (*golpes*) believed to proceed from his resting place seems to have been a nephew of Paschal's who having entered the same Order was then domiciled at Villareal and was most assiduous in praying beside his uncle's grave. He heard first a sound as if the body were turning in its coffin. This, we are told, was repeated more than once, but was followed on other occasions by gentle tappings, as if someone from within was trying to attract attention. The date when notice was first paid to this phenomenon is not clearly established; what is certain is that though the beginning of the knockings is assigned to 1606 or 1609, no mention of it is made by any of the 600 witnesses who in 1611 and the years immediately following gave evidence in the "apostolic" process of beatification. At Villareal, however, the belief in these extraordinary happenings grew stronger and stronger, and we are assured that after diligent inquiry no sort of natural explanation of the sounds heard could be discovered. The noise at one time was said to be like the report of a gun, at another there were only soft and encouraging tappings. Disasters for the Spanish army were heralded by heavy blows, but before a Spanish victory St. Paschal knocked gently and tenderly to reassure his countrymen. What is still more extraordinary, it was not only at the tomb of St. Paschal that the knocks were heard, but before many years had passed tappings were said to proceed from pictures of the Saint wherever they might be, or from any tiny receptacle which contained a relic of his. Lest the reader should think that I am exaggerating the prominence given to such marvels, I would invite him to examine any of the larger Lives of St. Paschal printed in the 18th or 19th century. The Spanish biography by Father Salmeron, first issued in 1785, may serve as a specimen. The section of the book devoted to "the miraculous knockings" occupies 70 pages, which is nearly a third of the volume. Moreover it includes a paper of *Avisos*

(directions) for the practical guidance of those who possess relics or pictures of the Saint. For example :—

1. You must not think that every noise you hear is a knock of St. Paschal's.

2. When in doubt suspend your judgment.

3. Diligently inquire whether the cause could be natural.

4. If, after investigation, there might conceivably be a natural cause, you ought not to believe the knocks to be Paschal's.

5. But if no explanation is possible, then they may be.

6. When Paschal is knocking, all those present usually hear it ; but this is not invariably the case.

7. Paschal's knocks are not always of the same pitch, or loudness, or equally spaced out.

8. Knocks that are gentle and harmonious indicate good fortune ; those that are harsh and jarring forebode something disagreeable.

9. But you cannot always tell what the good or bad fortune is going to be.

10. This being the case, it is needful to curb your expectations, and still more your tongue, so long as the uncertainty remains.

11. A man who hears the knocks must not give himself airs as a privileged person but humbly thank God and St. Paschal.

This exhibits a curious aspect of popular devotion to the " Saint of the Blessed Sacrament," but no faithful summary of the published materials can ignore the knockings which for three centuries have been so conspicuous a feature of his cultus. Let me note, however, that Father Gröteken, O.F.M., in the Life (1909) referred to above, expressed doubts as to the validity of the evidence for the phenomenon in question. But what is the most important thing of all, it is plain that in any case the possible superstition or credulity of his later clients cannot affect our veneration for the person of the Saint himself. The memory of his life of abnegation and of his intense love of Our Lord in the Blessed Eucharist must endure for all time.

HERBERT THURSTON

THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND OF ST. PATRICK'S MISSION

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ST. PATRICK'S life (385-461 A.D.) falls almost precisely within the period which saw the final downfall of the Roman Empire in Western Europe and with it the collapse of the ancient Latin civilisation. Already in 367, eighteen years before his birth, a terrible invasion of Picts and Scots had struck the Roman government in Britain a blow from which it never fully recovered. During his early youth, in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius the Great (379-395), took place the final acceptance by the Roman State, after nearly a century's vacillations between Arianism and orthodox Nicene Christianity, of the latter as its sole religion. The period of his first sojourn as a slave in Ireland (401-407) saw the climax of a dramatic and eventful struggle waged by the great Vandal marshal Stilicho to maintain his effective rule over Western Europe against the combined efforts of his enemies at Constantinople and Rome as well as against the forcible importunities of the Visigoths under Alaric and the fearful irruption of Vandals and other barbarians into Gaul in 406. The date of St. Patrick's departure from his parents' home in Britain to train for the priesthood at Lérins was also in all probability the date of the disappearance of Roman power from his native land. The years of his mission in Ireland (432-461) coincided almost exactly with the years (432-454) during which the patrician Aetius, who was to go down in history as the last of the Romans and the conqueror of the Huns, was the all-powerful minister of an Emperor who finally assassinated

him with his own hand. Fifteen years after St. Patrick's death the last Roman Emperor in the West was dismissed into well-paid obscurity by a German adventurer; and a few years later still, in 481, the emergence of Clovis as King of the Franks began the brief process which swallowed up alike the Arian Visigoths and Burgundians and the orthodox Romans of Gaul into Catholic France.

St. Patrick's father was himself a *decurio*, one of those small-town functionaries whose hard lot under the later Empire has aroused the sympathy of so many historians. The Saint's defective Latinity bears witness to the backward state of Roman culture in the Britain of his youth. He was a slave, presumably engaged in learning Irish, during the period when his education should have been concluding. The twenty years he spent at Lérins and Auxerre were years of purely religious training. He received it from a type of ecclesiastic then quite new, the monk. Though Lérins was ruled by men who had themselves gone through a full schooling in rhetoric, and though it was renowned for its dialecticians and theologians, it is not probable that its teachers troubled to impart to their pupils that passion for the merely literary side of ancient tradition which was then so strong among the Gaulish nobles as to make them more Roman than the Romans. The last great representative of this literary tradition was Sidonius Apollinaris, in later life Bishop of Auvergne. He was born in the year before St. Patrick's return to Ireland, and lived to take part in the final resistance to the Visigoths of the region which had produced, long before, the organiser of resistance to Cæsar. Sidonius was not only an elegant, if pedantic and generally extravagant, Latin stylist; he also knew at least the Greek poets, and many of his aristocratic acquaintances devoted equal zeal to the cultivation of both Greek and Latin letters. Just a century later, we find in Gregory of Tours (539-594), the most representative writer of Gaul in his

age, a man as far below Sidonius in literary skill as he was below Patrick in theology.

The conversion of Ireland to the religion of the Roman Empire was thus, in so far as any purely secular cultural influence is concerned, the last spark thrown out by a dying fire. Bury has emphasised the difference between St. Patrick and the apostles of the Goths and Slavs. Whereas the latter translated the Bible into the languages of their converts, St. Patrick does not seem to have thought of translating it into Irish. The difference is explained by the fact that the Goths and Slavs were evangelised from the Eastern Empire, where the co-existence of many literary languages was familiar. In the West, Latin was the unique vehicle of both religion and civilisation. Its introduction into Ireland prepared the way for the schools of the sixth and seventh centuries, and thus eventually for the Carolingian renaissance. It is interesting to speculate on the possible consequences if Ireland had been converted in a period and from a region more politically stable and more economically prosperous. The analogy of the political influence exercised by the Byzantine Empire on the Slavs may suggest to us that these consequences would have been profound, and that Ireland would in some degree have ultimately come within the Roman system. As it was, the collapse of Roman rule in Gaul and Britain brought about a state of affairs not very dissimilar from that which prevailed in Ireland itself.

There is no more interesting historical phenomenon than the decline of a gigantic civilisation and an imposing political structure, which at its best had in some ways the advantage even over modern Europe, to the backward condition in which Gaul, Spain, Britain, and indeed Italy, found themselves in the days of Gregory of Tours. In theory, of course, there was no fall of the Western Roman Empire, because there existed no such thing. What took place was simply a contraction of the Empire, which still

maintained itself and often expanded its frontiers before its final disappearance in 1453. The division of the Empire into an Eastern and a Western part never meant that there were two Empires, and was never more than a temporary political and military expedient. Unity was many times reestablished in fact as well as theory between the first elaborate planning of the structure under Diocletian and the final transference of the seat of government to Constantinople after 476. The shrunken Empire still contained a large Latin-speaking area as well as the Semitic, Coptic, and other non-Hellenic regions, till the Slav invasions and the spread of Mohammedanism, which reduced it to its smallest proportions. What had taken place by 476 was the loss of Gaul, Spain, and Africa west of Tripoli, and the practical loss of Italy and of Rome itself. The secondary effects of this political loss were very great. First came the breakdown of communications between the various parts of the Mediterranean world, which breakdown was largely due to the Vandals of Africa. On this followed, step by step with the advance of the barbarian powers, the cessation of the traditional Latin culture. In the fifth century this culture was already confined to the aristocracy and the more nobly-born clergy. Its disappearance caused the rise of the various dialects of Latin into separate languages. A final consequence of the political collapse of Rome in the West was the growth of the Western Church in practical independence of the State, which gave it a character so profoundly distinct from that of the Church in the East.

The causes of this painful contraction, the reasons which so nearly annihilated all the immense work of Roman conquest and organisation in the West, and left intact less than the achievements of Philip and Alexander in the East, were naturally manifold. The "Decline and Fall" was not due to any mysterious inherent law of nature, as was once believed. Neither was it the inevitable consequence of the possession by the "wandering"

barbarians of invincible youthful vigour. The wanderings were almost as much a consequence as a cause of the decline, and the Goths were only youthful in the sense that they were new to history, that is to say comparatively uncivilised. Again, the problem is not to be disposed of by invoking any purely physical cause such as malaria, or by taking refuge with Bury in the notion of a series of contingent circumstances, which is merely a translation into learned language of the childish explanation that a thing "just growed." In writing of this period historians very frequently confuse two processes, one slow, the other fairly sudden: the vast and far-reaching economic, social, and cultural changes which took place in the Empire between the third and the fifth centuries A.D., and the political and military collapse which amputated its western provinces in the fifth. These two processes were naturally interrelated, but the former by no means rendered the latter inevitable.

The social and economic development of the Empire has in recent years been exhaustively studied, especially in a very remarkable book by a Russian scholar, Rostovtzeff, which appeared in 1926. His explanation of it is clearly inspired by the recent history of his own country. He sees the principal cause of decline in a semi-conscious movement of the proletariat, represented by the army, against the bourgeoisie of the towns, which to a greater degree even than in modern industrial countries, constituted the real strength of Graeco-Roman civilisation. This theory, however, is too onesided to be readily accepted, and in fact the brilliance of its author's exposition has not succeeded in imposing it on other scholars. It is not even a necessary theory, for the facts in the case are adequate to explain themselves.

The Roman Empire of Augustus was in its essence an unstable structure, for two reasons. It was based economically on the temporary predominance, due to military conquest, of the Western part of the Empire, which was

poorer and far more thinly populated, over the more highly-developed East; and it was, although disguised under Roman constitutional forms, a military despotism, the extent of whose political control was altogether too great for its strength in the long run. It lasted for two centuries, largely because the world it ruled had been utterly exhausted by the destruction of two previous centuries. After the reign of Marcus Aurelius its economic and politico-military bases began to crumble together. What finally brought about its entire transformation was the series of gruelling civil wars which from 235 to 285 plunged its whole area back again into the worst experiences of the Roman conquest. After 285 it had to be reorganised from top to bottom. The reorganisation was effected mainly by two of the greatest men in all history, Diocletian and Constantine. When it had left their hands it was a new structure, stable enough to last in its essential form for over a thousand years in the East. Its collapse in the West was due not to economic reasons so much as to particular political decisions.

Before the civil wars of the third century, the Empire was a network of city-states ruled over by a monarch whose power lay in his command of the army. In one region, Egypt, there was only a single city of importance, and the whole land with its produce belonged to the ruler. In the rest of the Greek East the old city-states continued a prosperous existence as self-governing communities. In the Latin West there were far fewer cities, but the Romans everywhere organised and encouraged their growth on the Greek model. Everywhere civilised life, as the name implies, meant city life. There was an endless variety of local law, custom, and religion, upon which the State only imposed the minimun of uniformity. Status and taxation varied according to locality and the accident of history. The government was only a developed form of city-state government, with annual magistrates either appointed from above or elected; such rudimentary imperial civil

service as existed was the personal staff of the Emperor's household. The boundaries of the Empire were fixed since the beginning of the second century. Outside it were the barbarian peoples, none of which possessed the organisation or the strength to cause more than a temporary dislocation of its frontiers. It was not the substitution of the centralised and extremely nationalist Persian Empire for the phil-Hellene Parthians, nor the military menace in the East, culminating in the spectacular defeat and capture of Valerian in 260, which was responsible for the decline of the third century. Neither was it the defeat and death of Decius at the hands of the Goths in 251, nor the foretaste of the later invasions which they administered to the Greek cities of the Empire after that disaster. These events contributed their share, but the real and lasting damage was done by the anarchy within the Empire itself.

Probably the worst result of this anarchy was the contraction of city life which took place from the middle of the third century, particularly in the West. The Greek city had only struck weak roots in Gaul, Spain and Britain. Even in the most prosperous period it is probable that the largest cities in Gaul had no more than fifty thousand inhabitants. From the period of the civil wars onward they shrank rapidly, till most of them were only a tenth of their former size. They became small fortified burghs, incapable of offering their citizens anything like the amenities and attractions of the open cities which had been the chief glory of the earlier Empire. Everyone who was rich enough fled from their narrow, gloomy streets and confined life to an estate in the country. Partly as a consequence of this shrinkage, which seems to have taken place in a generation or less, and partly as a natural development, the balance of wealth and economic power shifted to the East, where, in spite of the existence of similar circumstances, the ruin was not entirely so serious. What really happened was that the economic effects of

the Roman conquest righted themselves too soon for the full growth of urban civilisation in the enormous area of Western Europe. In many respects the Gaul of St. Patrick's time, except for the Latin language and the very strong Roman culture of the aristocracy, had returned to a condition not dissimilar from that of pre-Roman Gaul. There seems to be no doubt that in the fifth century the wealth and resources of the Western Empire were very decidedly inferior to those of the Eastern.

The gigantic Roman political structure remained when its real basis had been shattered. Not only was it resolutely kept in being by the Emperors of the fourth century, but it was in many ways strengthened and improved. A stable state organisation, still ruled by a military despotism, but endowed with an elaborately articulated civil service and rigidly fitted into a framework of hereditary status and function, was built up by Diocletian and Constantine in place of the old federation of cities. Some preliminary steps towards its creation had been taken by earlier Emperors, but the work was essentially theirs.

The inspiration may have come partly from Persia, partly from the Macedonian organisation of Egypt. In any case it was an astonishingly thorough attempt to make good the glaring defects of the Augustan system, in which the machinery was entirely inadequate for the size and complexity of the structure. It is curious to reflect on what the consequences would have been if the Empire had been reformed before the damage done by the long civil wars. The fiscal reforms which might have proved salutary at an earlier date imposed too heavy a burden on the shrunken cities, and failed to bring within their orbit the new growth of the fourth century—the large landowner and his self-contained estate. As a result, while the unfortunate *curiales*, those liable to taxation in the towns, and the *coloni*, the humbler agriculturists, were crushed between the exactions of the revenue and the regulations binding them forever to their

posts, the wealthier classes, who were able to escape from the cities, continually extended their immunities, increased their wealth, and enjoyed their spacious life of culture and ease while the world was falling in ruin around them. They exercised greater and greater pressure on the central government, which eventually proved too weak to resist them, so that they became, as a feudal nobility, co-heirs with the Goths and Franks to the dead Empire in the West.

Life in the Empire in St. Patrick's days must have been much less pleasant than two centuries earlier. The rigid control of all movement from one state or place into another, the compulsory organisation of traders into hereditary guilds, the crushing burdens which were passed on from the topmost ranks of society to the shoulders of the poorest, and which drove many to accept serfdom rather than endure them, must have made the existence of all that remained of a once great middle-class grim indeed. Added to all this was the ever-present menace of war, for even the foresight of Diocletian was unable to prevent the evils inherent in the very nature of Roman despotism ; and in those days civil war was not waged by citizens but by bands of barbarians, German or Mongol, in the pay of State or war-lord. The description by Salvianus of Marseilles about 440 of the condition of Treves, for a century the residence of Emperors, after it had been three times sacked by Vandals and Franks, gives us an idea of how much many cities had to suffer from this cause. Yet in spite of the miseries of war and peace, there were ways of escape for the poorest ; they were eligible for the lower ranks of the Civil Service, or for the Church, in which the growth of the monastic movement offered a secure haven from all worldly ills. Or they could join the ranks of the Imperial *comitatenses*, the new mobile army created by Diocletian, or enrol themselves in the private army of some nobleman, the *bucellarii* whose appearance in history is one of the

phenomena that herald the middle ages. If all else failed, the most oppressed, among the peasantry at any rate, banded themselves together in a sort of Jacquerie, the *Bagaudae*, whose risings disturbed Gaul in the fourth century and Spain in the fifth.

One of the features of the new Imperial organisation was the sharp distinction of rank which ran completely counter to the old Roman republican equality. This distinction very soon came to have a legal as well as a social meaning. The status before the law of *humiliores*, the lower orders of society, and *honestiores* or gentlemen, was widely different in the fifth century. A noble like Sidonius can already talk of plebeians with the same haughty disdain which a courtier of the old *régime* in France would show for the *canaille*. Among the *honestiores* themselves there were wide differences between the *decurio*, or lower-middle-class member of a local council, and the *clarissimus* or country gentleman, who in turn was very inferior in rank to the *spectabiles* and *illustres* of the higher State service and the immediate Imperial circle. Such titles as "count," which went with a variety of civil and military functions, were already in fixed use. Members of the "clarissimate" were eligible for the Senate, but the majority of them led the lives of well-to-do civilians. Many of them were immensely wealthy, even during the last days of the Empire; it has been established that some had a yearly income equivalent to one-tenth of the whole State revenue. We get from the writings of Sidonius an idea of the splendour of their country-seats, with their elaborate baths, galleries, and libraries, their special apartments for summer and winter, and their magnificent gardens. Some of them were already fortified like the chateaux of the middle ages. Their owners enjoyed the delights of an elegant and refined social intercourse, and were devoted to the chase as well as to literature. Already these magnates have begun to take on the character of independent barons; and by way of

a new and striking development of the old Roman patronate, they were able to acquire for themselves semi-feudal powers in direct defiance of the State. Their growing immunity from State burdens, in contrast to the utter crushing out of the once flourishing urban middle classes, is a phenomenon of the times to which recent historians have paid increasing attention.

Different as the Empire undoubtedly had become from the wonderfully peaceful and prosperous world-state established by Augustus, there was no inherent reason why it should have collapsed in the West as and when it did. The West was unquestionably poorer than the East, but the difference between them was by no means so great as at once to explain their different destinies. The barbarian invasions were no more formidable in the fifth century than they had been in the fourth; and it is now generally accepted that the numbers of the barbarian armies were never overwhelmingly great. There were several dangerous elements in the situation as it unfolded itself, and in particular the Vandal occupation of Africa after 429 had a crippling effect on the resources of Rome. The fact that both Goths and Vandals were very bitter Arians, and that two of their greatest kings, Euric in Gaul and Gaiseric in Africa, seem to have pursued a definitely anti-Catholic policy, probably helped to render both less easily assimilable once they had succeeded in effecting an entry. The concentration of all military power in the hands of a single great marshal in the West, while it was divided in the East, made the former probably more vulnerable, especially when the marshal was himself a barbarian like Stilicho. The use of German troops in such large numbers was another unfortunate element, which, however, was not accidental but the result of deliberate policy, and was aggravated by the fact that Illyricum, a breeding-ground of soldiers, was cut off from the West. The East was able to draw upon sources of military supply in Anatolia and the Balkans which were lacking in the West, and it

was the Isaurian troops of Zeno that ultimately preserved Constantinople from sharing the fate of Rome.

Apart, however, from all these considerations, it is clear enough that the responsibility for the collapse of the West can be made to rest on the shoulders of certain individuals whose policies, in the general dimness of our historical sources, can still be traced. There are two moments of supreme importance in the long sequence of disasters, at either of which a more far-sighted course of action might have saved the State. One is the moment of Stilicho's destruction in 408, the other the moment of the death of Valentinian III in 455. The removal of Stilicho was the policy of the anti-German advisers of the weak Honorius. They were Romans of the old order, half-pagan, attached to the past, and resentful of the power which the Emperor's father had entrusted to his Vandal marshal. Stilicho's execution took place just when he alone could have solved the terrific problems presented by the demands of Alaric and the irruption of the barbarians into Gaul. Its immediate consequence was the sack of Rome by Alaric. Its remote consequences were the establishment of the lasting Visigothic kingdoms within the Empire in Gaul and Spain, the Vandal seizure of Africa, and the total loss of Britain. Theodosius the Great may have been mistaken in his preference for barbarian generals, especially after his own experience with Arbogast. But his mistake was far from being as decisive in its consequences as the mistake made by the advisers of his son.

The second fatal action, which brought about the ultimate collapse, was the junction of the head of the Roman aristocracy, Petronius Maximus, with the assassins of Valentinian III after the latter had himself assassinated Aetius in 454. The antecedents of both these crimes have recently been subjected to a masterly and searching investigation by Ernst Stein.[1] He has shown good grounds for believing that Aetius, while his ability in playing off

[1] *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches*, vol. I, 1928.

his Hun allies under Attila and the Goths and Burgundians in Gaul against one another did undoubtedly preserve Roman rule more or less intact in that province, was none the less a steady and in essence disloyal partisan of the great landowners whose encroachments did a great deal to ruin the Empire. Valentinian III has usually been represented, on the strength of one or two biassed and obscure fragments in a Greek chronicle, as a vicious and debauched weakling, whose terrible act in slaying his minister amounted, as the chronicler says, to "cutting off his right hand with his left." Stein has shown that this last representative of the legitimate Theodosian dynasty, who only emerged from his mother's guidance in 450, was an energetic and courageous legislator, full of concern for the social evils of his time. "It is certain," says Stein, "that in so far as any statesman can be responsible for the condition of a State which had already degenerated before his time, Aetius was responsible for the mismanagement described by Salvianus and known to the Emperor. Our sources permit of the possibility that Aetius was destroyed because the Emperor blamed him for the errors of the government as far as its internal conduct was concerned, and for that reason got rid of him as soon as a favourable opportunity occurred." Petronius Maximus used the vengeance of Aetius' followers to get himself made Emperor. His short reign resembles in its character and ending that of the least competent usurpers of the third century. It was ended by Gaiseric's sack of Rome. From that time, with the last representative of the legitimate house gone, there was very little chance of maintaining Roman rule over its western dominions. In a few years Gaul, Spain, and Africa were finally lost, and Italy itself, while nominally owing allegiance to Constantinople, was in reality a Gothic kingdom.

When we read a recital of the evils which beset the later Roman Empire in the West we are led to ask ourselves whether it would have after all been worth

preserving. There is little doubt that the taxpayers of the Gaulish cities found life if anything a little less unpleasant under the Frankish kings than under the rule of Aetius and his master. Even among the refined aristocracy of Gaul there seems to have grown up during the fifth century a kind of Gaulish patriotism, to which expression is given by Sidonius in his panegyrics on Avitus and Majorian. In spite of their distaste for the personal habits of the Goths, these elegant gentlemen seem to have accommodated themselves successfully not only to the rule of the Arian Euric, but perhaps even more so to the Catholic, if still ruder, Clovis. Many were clearly conscious of the collapse around them, but seem to have closed their eyes to it and shut themselves up in their estates. Even in the towns, if we can take Salvianus as anything but an over-imaginative Jeremiah, there was plenty of amusement, much of it intemperate, while the first convulsions were making themselves felt. "Moritur et ridet"—this is the terrible phrase in which Salvianus sums up the Empire of his time. Yet we should not be too ready to accept the view held by the muscular Teutonic school in England a generation ago—its best representative was Hodgkin—that the substitution of the young vigorous barbarian powers for the effete Empire was a blessing to the world. The rulers of Merovingian Gaul were vigorous enough for a time, but vigour was perhaps their sole redeeming feature. If the Eastern Empire had shared the fate of the West instead of being preserved by Zeno and his Isaurians, there is little likelihood that civilisation could ever have recovered. It is a curious historical accident that the heritage of Greece and Rome should have been saved for the future to such a large degree, though in such widely different ways, by the warlike mountaineers of Anatolia in the East and by the eagerness for Latin letters of the newly-Christianised Irish on the Western edge of the world.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

THE FIRST IRISH PRIESTS IN THE NEW WORLD[1]

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J., M.A.

THE missionary ideal has always attracted Irish zeal, from the days of Colmcille and Columbanus down to the present generation with its numberless missionary vocations of boys and girls. But the appeal of the Missions has varied from age to age. In the present century, largely owing to the personal influence of recent Popes, not least among them the present Holy Father, the call has been for volunteers in the pagan mission-fields. In the last century the appeal was rather for Irish priests and brothers and nuns to go out and do what they could for the Irish emigrants in the New World. Father Hand's appeal to the generation of Daniel O'Connell marks a chapter in Irish Catholic history no less than the appeal of the Maynooth Mission to the generation that made Easter Week. Few Irishmen know that the story of both these missionary enterprises can be carried back far behind the nineteenth century. Father Gregory Cleary has reminded readers of STUDIES (Sept. 1927) that an Irish Franciscan, Jacobus de Hybernia, " was the first Irishman on record to evangelize the Celestial Empire " (1320-1328);[2] and Father John MacErlean has published, in the *Irish Jesuit Directory* for 1930, a list which includes the names of no less than thirty-nine Irish Jesuit Fathers and Brothers who served on various

[1] The evidence on which this summary is based will be found in full in a series of documents which the present writer has collected and edited in the current number of *Analecta Hibernica*, the official organ of the Irish MSS. Commission. The writer wishes to acknowledge his very real gratitude to Right Rev. Mgr. Curran, Rector of the Irish College, Rome, and to Rev. John C. MacErlean, S.J., for their constant help and advice in the work of investigating the origins of the modern Irish missionary movement.

[2] Jacobus de Hybernia accompanied Oderico di Pordenone, whose mission to China is described in another article of this issue.—Editor].

mission fields from the end of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. Three of these Jesuit missionaries worked in Goa, one in Canada, and four in the Philippine Islands; but the great majority were attracted by the vast mission-fields which had been opened up to the Church by Spain's *conquistadores*. Mexico, Nuevo Reino (which included the modern Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela), Peru, Paraguay, Brazil and the West Indian Islands; in all of these Irish Jesuit missionaries worked during the seventeen and eighteenth centuries.

Of them all the first to go out was Father Thomas Fihilly (Field), the son of a Limerick doctor, who entered the Society in Rome in 1574, sailed for Brazil in 1577, and volunteered as one of the first six pioneers for the mission of Paraguay in 1587. So far as the present writer knows, Father Fihilly is the first Irishman to have said Mass in the New World; he seems to have been ordained to the priesthood just before sailing from Brazil for Paraguay in 1587.[1] For more than thirty years he laboured in this new field, and for a time was the only Jesuit missionary in that vast region. Before his death at Asuncion in 1626, another Irish Jesuit had gone out to the New World; Father Michael Wadding of Waterford, one of the famous Wadding family. Father Michael entered the Society in 1609, and sailed from Spain for Mexico in 1610. From 1619 to 1626 he laboured as a missionary in one of the wildest parts of the country, and had for a time more than five thousand Indians under his care. In 1626 his health failed him, and he was withdrawn to the colleges of the mission, where he was Rector in La Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico, Guatemala and Oaxaca. He died in Mexico in 1644, leaving behind him a reputation for learning and sanctity which is well established by his celebrated work on Mystical Theology.

[1] See a detailed account by the present writer in a pamphlet published by the *Irish Messenger* in 1924 (Sheaf Mission Series): *Father Thomas Field, S.J.* I have written a shorter notice of Father Field for Messrs. Sheed and Ward's new volume of Irish biography, *The Irish Way*.

These names, and the names of those who followed, are a witness to the response which Ireland made to the call of the pagan missions in the centuries of active persecution at home. But there is another chapter in Irish missionary activity, which opens almost at the same time as the labours of Father Thomas Fihilly and Father Michael Wadding. We are all of us apt to date the movement of Irish emigration across the Atlantic to the generation immediately after the Famine of 1845-6, and to assume that Irish immigrants in the New World before that date were few and far to seek. The patient researches of Dr. Michael J. O'Brien in America have done much to end this historical fiction; he has shown beyond any doubt that the Irish element in the population of North America was already fairly high by the end of the eighteenth century, and was maintained by a constant stream of immigration from the impoverished Ireland of the Penal Laws.[1] Documents which the present writer has been able to publish for the first time in the current number of *Analecta Hibernica* show that this stream of immigration can be traced back, without any serious interruption, through the generation that saw the Battle of the Boyne and the Treaty of Limerick to the generation that knew Cromwell and the Restoration after his Protectorate, and behind that again to the early days of English emigration across the Atlantic under the early Stuarts. Some of these documents throw light on the first beginnings of that missionary endeavour which is to-day centred in the work of All Hallows and our other Irish missionary colleges. Those who know something of the debt which Irishmen the wide world over owe to these great seminaries of Irish missionary priesthood may be interested to trace their history back to the first priests who volunteered for similar work in the generation immediately preceding Cromwell and his ill-omened policy of transportation.

The earliest Irish settlement across the Atlantic which

[1] See Dr. O'Brien's numerous articles in the *American Irish Historical Journal*.

the present writer has been able to trace dates back to the year 1612, when a small party of Irish adventurers sailed to the Amazon with Sir Thomas Roe, and established an Irish colony near the mouth of that river which flourished for some ten or twelve years, and was then attacked and destroyed by the Portuguese in the years 1623-5. Our knowledge of the fortunes of this settlement is derived mainly from a Memorial which a certain Gaspar Chillan, apparently Jasper Collins of Youghal, made to the Spanish authorities at Madrid in the year 1631. According to this Memorial, which is now preserved in the Archivo de Indias at Seville, once the Irish were well established on the Amazon they wrote to their fellow-countrymen in Spain, asking for both military and spiritual help.

"The Irish wrote to the Earl of Tyrone (*Conde de Tiron*), asking that he should send priests (*religiosos*) and soldiers from Flanders; and the said Earl, seeing that they had no permit from His Majesty [the King of Spain], made no reply and sent them nobody."

No date is given for this incident, but the appeal for soldiers suggests that it was made shortly before the first Portuguese attacks were launched in 1623 and 1625. The *Conde de Tiron* is, of course, Hugh O'Neill's son, then resident in Spain; and his hesitation is abundantly explained by the fact that these Irish settlers were—from the point of view of Spanish policy—no more than piratical adventurers who had intruded themselves into an area that Portugal claimed as her own. Technically the Amazon was Portuguese territory, and Pará was founded near one of the mouths of the Amazon delta in 1616 to defend Portuguese (and Spanish) interests. But in point of fact the stretch of coast from the north of Brazil to the Orinoco was a "no man's land" which tempted every European adventurer, until at last a Portuguese soldier of genius, Pedro Teixeira, made Portuguese control a reality between the years 1623 and 1630.

I have told elsewhere the story of the fall of this Irish

settlement in 1625, its restoration in 1628 by an Irish adventurer, James Purcell, and its final capture by Teixeira in 1629.[1] The last scene has been described by a Portuguese Jesuit, who was acting as chaplain to Teixeira's force, and an extract from his narrative will illustrate the false position in which these Irish adventurers found themselves so long as they were seeking a home on Spanish territory :—

" On the 17th of October four men appeared [from behind the fortifications] with a white flag, and asked to be admitted to our trenches. Our men replied with another white flag, and Captain Aires de Sousa went to meet them with some soldiers, to whom they surrendered their arms and then came with him to be presented to Captain Pedro Teixeira. After the usual ceremonies they were examined separately. Three of them were Scots [this is plainly a mistake for Irishmen], one of them a cavalier booted and spurred after the manner of his country, and another a very good Latinist (*mui bom latino*). The third was a mulatto of the household of the Conde de Santa Cruz, whom they had captured at Cape Verde and had brought with them. These three strangers declared that they had come under a wrong impression (*enganados*). They had never imagined that there were Portuguese here, nor any war with Catholics ; nor did they wish for it."

This statement was plainly a *ruse de guerre*, by which the Irish hoped to delay the final surrender for yet a few more days. James Purcell had been out on the Amazon for several years, and knew full well the difficulty of Spanish and Portuguese claims to the territory which he was holding under a grant from the English King. But the fact that Spaniards and Portuguese were Catholics, whilst the English and Dutch were Protestants, complicated the position from the Irish point of view. James Purcell had himself succeeded in escaping home after his first capture in 1625 through the good offices of a Catholic priest, Fray Antonio da Merceana, the Franciscan Provincial for the time being at Pará. Fray Antonio had a kind heart and took pity on these Irish prisoners of war,

[1] *An Irish Settlement on the Amazon*, 1612-1629. Proc. R.I.A. (1932).

whom he regarded as fellow-Catholics. But the Spanish Government was less sentimental, and Irish adventurers were classed with the other Dutch and English intruders as *estrangeiros*, whose presence was most undesirable anywhere in the Caribbean Sea.

None the less, the appearance of Irish Catholics in the New World, at the very moment when Spain's supremacy was being actively challenged by England and Holland, was bound to suggest a very different policy to those who were responsible for Spanish colonial and missionary policy. Father Thomas Hughes, S.J., the author of the monumental *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, has called attention to a curious document which is now preserved in the archives of Propaganda. This is a Memorial addressed to Pope Urban VIII by a Spanish Franciscan, Fray Alonso Bonavides, under date February 12, 1634. The original Spanish Memorial is now incomplete; but it was summarised in Italian for the benefit of the Cardinals of the Congregation, and Father Hughes quotes from this official summary :—

"For fear that, from the side of Virginia and other places and islands of North America, the English and Dutch shipping might introduce heresy into New Mexico, which borders upon the said places, in the same way in which it has already been brought in there [Virginia] by the English and Dutch heretics; Father Bonavides calls attention to the necessity of establishing a mission of the Irish Fathers who know the English language; to the end that they may convert, not only the heathen of those countries to the Catholic faith, but also the heretics, who are gone thither from England and Holland, and have become very numerous, taking Indian women for their wives; and at the same time may also bring back the heathen already perverted, and prevent the heresy from spreading to New Mexico; and finally may also give assistance to the Spaniards who have been made slaves (*schiavi*) in the wars with the said English and Dutch; and also to the negroes, whom the Portuguese take to New Spain and sell there."

This Memorial was duly presented to the Cardinals, who referred the matter to Cardinal del Monte, with

instructions that he was to verify the facts and report to the Congregation; final approval would then be given to a scheme by which Irish friars might be sent to Virginia and New Mexico, as suggested by Fray Bonavides. Nothing further seems to have come of this particular scheme; but the impression which the friar's proposals made on the Cardinals of the Congregation must be taken into account when considering their attitude to a similar suggestion, which reached them from a very different quarter a few years later.

This second scheme dates from the year 1638. The date is worth noting. James Purcell's settlement on the Amazon had come to an untimely end in the autumn of 1629. Two years later Jasper Collins, who seems to have had several influential friends at the Spanish court, was busy at Madrid in an effort to gain Spanish support for a further venture in the same field. This proposal finally came to nothing by the end of 1632. Meanwhile the Irish at home had not been idle. As early as 1626 or 1627 some few Irish adventurers had followed an Englishman by the name of John Hilton on a venture to the island of Saint Christopher, now known as St. Kitts, where they hoped to establish a settlement for trade in tobacco. This first venture to the West Indies ended in partial disaster, but the connection between Ireland and the island of Saint Christopher was maintained without further interruption through the rest of the century and well into the eighteenth century as well. Details escape us for the most part; but, whilst Jasper Collins was negotiating at the court in Madrid, Irish traders and adventurers seem to have been crossing the Atlantic on a preconceived plan.

The names which have come to us suggest that the initiative came from the Munster ports of Kinsale, Cork and Youghal. Surnames such as Collins, Barry, Sullivan, Roche, Cormack, Callaghan, Driscoll, Ryan, tell a tale that is plain to Irish readers; and it can hardly be an accident that one of the three principal harbours on the

island of Montserrat, first settled by the Irish in these very years, was known to the settlers as Kingsale. But it would be rash to generalise too far, and we shall see that the names of the first Irish priests known to have actually made the journey across the Atlantic are from the West, not from the South.

After the first venture in the company of John Hilton, our next glimpse of these Irish emigrants comes from the diary of an English Jesuit, Father Andrew White. Lord Baltimore had been busy organising his settlement of English Catholics in Maryland during these same years, and Father White sailed with him as chaplain in the winter of 1633. Leaving Cowes on November 22nd, they were at Barbados on January 3rd of the following year. Here Father White notes in his diary: "Some few Catholiques there be, both English and Irish." Three weeks were spent in the island, which had not yet become the rival of Saint Christopher's as the most important English settlement in the Caribbean Sea. Then the fleet sailed from Barbados, northwards past the Leeward Islands, on its way to Virginia. Passing Santa Lucia and Guadeloupe, they were at Montserrat by January 25th. Two and a half years earlier another English adventurer, Sir Henry Colt, had sighted the island and had noted in his diary for July 20, 1631, that the island was "high rownd montaynous and full of woods, with noe Inhabitants; yett weer ye footstepps seen of some naked men." By the time of Lord Baltimore's visit in January, 1634, the island had been settled, as Father White notes in his diary: "By noone we came before Monserat, where is a noble plantation of Irish Catholique, whome the Virginians would not suffer to live with them because of their religion."

A comparison of these two entries makes it plain that these Irish settlers in Montserrat must have reached the island some time between July, 1631 and January, 1634—that is to say, in the summer most probably of either 1632 or 1633. The first official intimation that we get of

their existence is a petition from their first Governor, Anthony Briskett, who describes himself as " a Native of your Majesty's Realme of Ireland, & ye sonne of Lodowick Briskett Esqr, deceased (a servitor of good meritt in that Kingdome)." I have already described in STUDIES (Dec., 1929) the career of this very typical Elizabethan adventurer in Ireland, and have suggested that his son had found his way to Virginia and the West Indies in consequence of the troubles which followed on the Wexford plantations under Chichester. Since his father was certainly a Protestant, we may assume that the son also had conformed to the Established Church, as is indeed implied in his own statement that at the time of his petition (apparently in the year 1636) he is " erecting a Church of Stone and Bricke, for the glory of God & your Majesty's honour." But Father White's statement makes it plain that the first settlers on Montserrat were Irish Catholics, who had been banned from the Protestant colony of Virginia ; and this statement is confirmed by the witness of a later Governor, Sir William Stapleton, who reports in 1676 that in Montserrat, even in his day, " the most part are Romane Catholiques, it being first settled by those of that perswasion."

Father's White's ship did not touch at St. Christopher's on its way to Maryland, and we are thus without any direct evidence as to the number of Irish settlers on that island in the year 1634. But the documents we are now about to examine show that Irish immigration must have been constant in all these islands during the ten years that followed John Hilton's settlement of 1626-7.

Among the papers of Irish interest in the Archives of Propaganda is a Memorial, which was considered by the Congregation on January 30, 1638, but which must have been drafted in the closing weeks of 1637. According to this Memorial, English, Scotch and Irish settlers have been crossing the Atlantic in large numbers, and have succeeded in establishing a regular trade-route (*commer-*

cium satis securum) between Ireland and the West Indies. The Irish settlers are very numerous (*in maximo numero*), and include both men and women. As a result of this new movement the Archbishop of Tuam (Malachy O'Queely, one of the most zealous of the Irish hierarchy of that day, who was executed in 1645), has become concerned for the spiritual welfare of these Irish emigrants. In the West Indies they are living mixed among English and Scotch heretics, and are daily exposed to the danger of perversion. Moved by pity for their plight, the Archbishop has sent two priests of great zeal and piety, who have just sailed with a party of emigrants. These priests have been given full instructions for their conduct, but are without any formal faculties. They are also in need of vestments, chalices, missals, etc. The Archbishop, in reporting his action in the matter, adds a petition that a Prefect should be appointed for this new mission, who shall have power to grant faculties according to the formula in use for missionary priests in the Indies. The Cardinals are reminded that the English are doing their utmost to propagate their heresies, and that there is thus urgent danger to the faith of these Irish emigrants. None of the Irish hierachy can supply the needs of this new mission, since they themselves are dependent on the charity of their flocks for the bare necessities of their apostolate in Ireland. If the Sacred Congregation does not find some means of assisting the missionaries who have been sent out, nothing can be done.

This Memorial is the first of a series of documents which tell in routine form the tale of this enterprise. In Rome the Archbishop's plan was backed by the zeal and organising ability of Dr. Francis Ingoli, the Secretary to the Congregation, whose comments, written in his own hand, are to be read on the back of each new document as it is filed for the use of the Cardinals. In particular Dr. Ingoli is anxious from the first that Archbishop O'Queely should himself be nominated as Prefect of this

new Mission, since he is known to be *Prelato vigilante e prudente*. As to the other needs of the missionaries he is less concerned, for they will need little, he thinks, once they are out in the islands. The most urgent need is the provision of chalices and vestments, with the formal grant of faculties.

Ten weeks after the date of the first Memorial, a second Memorial, dated April 20, 1638, gives further news of the mission to the Islands. Though there is a difference of ten weeks in the date of the two Memorials, it would seem that both are based on the same information, which must have been supplied in the first instance by a letter from Archbishop O'Queely. According to this second and more detailed statement of the facts, six hundred Irish emigrants had sailed in March owing to the discovery of a new line of communication (*propter certam et utilem correspondentiam nuper repertam*). The names of the two priests who have been sent with the party are now given as Ferdinandus Fareissius and David Onellus. The former of these two names is at first sight a puzzle, but reference to the published *Fiants* of Queen Elizabeth shows that the name McFarssey or its various equivalents was common in Co. Galway at the time, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Gort and Kilmacduagh. Ferdinandus may stand for Ferdorcha or Fergananym—both recognised Irish (and Connaught) names. The second priest is evidently an O'Neill; and it is said in the Memorial that both were diocesans of the Archbishop of Tuam. Most probably both were natives of the West, and the *certa et utilis correspondentia nuper reperta* is very probably the first venture to the West Indies made directly from the harbour of Galway or from some other western port. Hitherto, as we have seen, emigration had been most common from the South.

Nothing more is heard of this West Indian mission for the next eighteen months, and then a third Memorial (dated December, 1639) tells us the story of what had happened in the interval. The two priests whom the

Archbishop had sent out have arrived in the West Indies, to the great joy of the Irish settlers. Their first report states that three thousand Irish are at present living on St. Christopher's and the neighbouring islands; until the arrival of these two priests they had been without any of the consolations of their religion, whilst the English and Scotch settlers had brought their ministers with them. One of the two priests has died since his arrival in the islands, and the other is unable to meet the demands which are being made upon him. There is thus urgent need for more missionaries, who must be learned and holy men. There is also urgent need that a Prefect should at last be appointed to care for the Mission, though resident in Ireland. And it seems that the original letter from Ireland on which this Memorial is based stated that the priests sent out on this mission would need to know more than one language; for an endorsement in Dr. Ingoli's handwriting suggests that the Archbishop of Tuam should be asked to name one or two priests whom he thinks suitable, and who are familiar with *le suddette lingue*. The language needed on a mission of this kind would have been beyond doubt English, Irish and French, as we shall see from the case of Father O'Hartegan, S.J. This third Memorial was considered by the Cardinals on December 19, 1639, and they ordered that a letter should be written to the Archbishop of Tuam, asking him to recommend some members of a religious order (*regulares aliquot*) with the necessary virtue and knowledge.

Our next document is not a Memorial, but the actual text of a letter written by Archbishop O'Queely to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland, and dated December 8, 1639. This letter must have reached Rome later than the date on which the third Memorial was drafted, for it reports that both the priests sent out from the Archdiocese of Tuam in 1637 have died in the West Indies, owing to the severity of the climate. But the Archbishop is nothing daunted, and is prepared to send others to take their

place as soon as the Congregation has made the necessary provision for their support and has granted the necessary faculties. This letter was submitted to the Congregation on April 23, 1640, and the Congregation then made a formal decree: that faculties should be sought from the Holy Office and sent to the Archbishop of Tuam, with the limitation that he was not free to use them for the Irish mission, but should communicate them to two priests whom he might send to the West Indies; these priests might be either regulars or seculars, but the Archbishop is charged in conscience to see that they are sent on the mission; their names are to be reported to the Congregation, and in the meantime sixty *scudi* are ordered to be paid to each of them as a lump sum in addition to fifty *scudi* each for their journey.

Nothing further is heard of this mission for the next three years, and the presumption is that—in the confusion which followed the events of 1640 in Ireland—the Archbishop found it impossible to continue the work of the mission. But the Irish settlers on the islands were determined to have priests sent out to them. A letter which is preserved to-day in the Archives of the Irish Jesuit Province gives us the next link in the chain of evidence. Father Matthew O'Hartegan, S.J., who had been acting for some time past as Irish agent in Paris, writes to the General of the Society of Jesus under date March 30, 1643. In this letter he states that the Procurator of the French Provinces has just sent him a letter, which had been brought to Europe by M. du Poenry, the French admiral in the West Indies. According to the terms of this letter twenty thousand Irish Catholics were living on St. Christopher's and the neighbouring islands, having been compelled by want and persecutions at home to leave Europe and settle in the West Indies. They ask that two or more Irish Jesuits should be sent to help them, since they are without priests (*pastoribus destitutos*); and Father O'Hartegan begs the General to send him on this

mission. In addition to the general requirements for missionary work, he has the special advantage that he is familiar with the three languages most used on the islands —French, English and Irish.

Father O'Hartegan's generous offer was accepted by his Superiors, but an unexpected difficulty arose. The French Capuchin Fathers were in charge of a mission to the Antilles, as the French called these islands, and they were not unnaturally alarmed at the prospect of an intrusion from outside. Their claim was that they themselves were able to provide for the spiritual necessities of the islanders, and their influence with the Sacred Congregation was strong enough to block Father O'Hartegan's mission. A letter of protest on the subject has come down to us from Luke Wadding's nephew, Geoffrey Barron, but the scheme was dropped by the Jesuit Superiors for fear of friction between the two Orders. That the need of an Irish priest was a real need on the islands had yet to be proved by experience.

The situation changed once more within the next three years. In the French islands—Martinique, Guadeloupe, and the French portion of St. Christopher's—the Capuchins shared with French Dominicans and French Jesuits the responsibilities of the mission. On St. Christopher's, where the French were in direct contact with the Irish settlers, the Capuchins had hitherto been in control; but in 1646 they became involved in a very violent dispute with the Governor, M. du Poincy. This time matters came to a head, and the Capuchin Fathers, who did not agree with the Governor's policy and methods of government, were compelled to leave the island. They withdrew to Guadeloupe, and Jesuit Fathers from Martinique were brought in to take their place. The way was thus open for a renewal of the Irish claim.

The actual steps taken to negotiate with the Irish Jesuits are not known to us, but a letter from the newly elected General of the Society, Father Francis Piccolomini,

dated Sept., 1650, shows us that by that date these negotiations have been successful. An Irish Jesuit, Father John Stritch, has been selected for the mission, and the letter is directed to him on the eve of his departure from Bordeaux. The Father General encourages his subject to face the dangers of his mission with a stout heart, and assures him of God's blessing. Within a few days of the arrival of this letter Father Stritch must have sailed from Bordeaux, for he was in St. Christopher's before the end of the year. The detailed account of his labours, which we owe to one of the French Fathers of the mission, Père Pelleprat, has been published more than once, and is familiar to Irish readers from Cardinal Moran's summary of its contents in his chapter on the West Indian mission. A few sentences will here suffice to show that the Irish settlers on the island were in earnest in their appeals for a missionary priest of their own speech and kin.

According to Father Pelleprat's narrative, Father Stritch began his ministry by building a small chapel in the French section of the island, near the English plantations. Word of his arrival soon spread throughout the island : an Irish priest had come at last.

> The joy which this news brought them made them forget the danger to which they were exposed. They came in crowds, without any attempt at concealment, to greet the Father whom they looked on as a man sent by God to help them. Some took his hands to kiss them ; others threw themselves at his feet to get his blessing ; all, including the Father himself, were overcome by joy such as it is impossible to describe. The missionary explained to them that the sole purpose of his voyage was to help them on the islands. He then made an arrangement with them as to the time and place most suitable for his ministry, so as to take from their masters all pretext for maltreating them. But the majority of the Irish were so fervent that they had no fear about exposing their bodies for the salvation of their souls. Every day the Father was at the chapel to administer the Sacraments, and for three whole months he remained there, constantly occupied in hearing confessions from dawn until one o'clock in the afternoon, giving Holy Communion and baptizing and instructing their children.

God so blessed his work that many who were already involved in heresy came back to the true path ; and the Father, having thus gathered his flock together within a very short space of time found that his congregation numbered almost three thousand souls.

Father Stritch's ministry was not confined to the island of St. Christopher, and he remained in the Leeward Islands, as they are called to-day, from 1650 to the Restoration in 1660, when he returned to Ireland. His place was taken after a brief interval by Father John Grace of the Cashel diocese, whose *Relation* of his mission to the West Indies has been printed in full by Cardinal Moran in the first volume of his *Spicilegium Ossoriense*. Any detailed account of the work done by these two zealous priests for the Irish emigrants overseas would exceed the space available for this short article ; but a final quotation may be permitted from the well-known French Dominican Father and historian of the West Indies, Father Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre, who tells the story of this Irish mission in the fourth volume of his *Histoire Générale des Antilles*. According to this observer Father Stritch was *un homme fervent et charitable ;* but the true secret of his success lay elsewhere. *Estant Irlandois de Nation, il a esté incomparablement plus chéry de tous les Irlandois et Anglois que tous les autres Missionnaires.* No other natural gift can make up for the sympathy that comes from a common love for the home-country. It is the knowledge of this fact that has led so many thousands of Irish priests to cross the seas in search of their scattered fellow-countrymen in every corner of the New World. *Misereor super turbam.*

AUBREY GWYNN

BLESSED ODERICO DI PORDENONE

Missioner and Traveller, 1285–1331

BY NESTA DE ROBECK

OF the various centenaries celebrated last year it was only natural that the lion's share of public attention should have gone to the Council of Ephesus and Saint Anthony. While all the world and his wife had been flocking to Padua, only comparatively few perhaps remembered the more modest centenary of Blessed Oderico of Pordenone, which was quietly celebrated at Udine. Yet Oderico was a remarkable man, and a most remarkable traveller, the first European after Marco Polo to tell of the Far East, and he ranks with the greatest Franciscan missionaries of the fourteenth century, with Giovanni di Pian Carpino and Giovanni di Monte Corvino.

These men were all adventurers in the true sense of the word, and the Franciscan vocation itself was nothing if not an adventure. Mediaeval travel was certainly a venture, and our modern Wanderlust pales in comparison with that of our fathers. Without maps, with no Mr. Cook or Mr. Baedeker to catalogue everything from the Tropics to the Arctic, with no liners and only their own legs or those of their beasts, they crossed the Alps and covered in their journeyings all Europe and a good part of Asia. No one travelled more easily than the Franciscans; for the rule of poverty had set them free from those things that often kept other men at home, and they used their liberty to the utmost. A wave of missionary enthusiasm swept over Europe when it became clear that the Crusades were failing to free the Holy Places of Palestine from Moslem rule, and the answer of Christendom to the military failure was expressed in the determina-

tion to spread the Gospel over the whole earth. The most enlightened Christians realised that their enemies must be converted, not merely conquered; and the successor of the Crusader was the missionary. If Calvary must remain under an alien domination, at least the story of the Cross should be preached to all nations.

Saint Francis was a missionary *par excellence;* so were his immediate followers missionaries, and within an hundred years of the death of their Founder there was hardly a country of the mediaeval world where the Friars had not penetrated. In 1292 the Genoese Tedesio Doria and Ugolino Vivaldi took two Franciscans with them in their attempt to sail round the Cape of Good Hope, and rather later the account of the journey of an anonymous Spanish friar shows an itinerary which would shame a hardened modern globe trotter.

The missionary field too was becoming enormously enlarged; for after centuries of separation East and West began to discover one another. Early Christian Oriental communities there had been, chiefly followers of Nestorius; but throughout the early Middle Ages Europe had been more or less cut off from Asia, not so much by antagonism as by practical necessity. The Oriental merchants would have been glad enough of a regular European market for their goods, and Western trade would willingly have spread into India and Persia, but Free Trade was lacking; all along the routes of communication various potentates had managed to establish themselves, and they made an excellent living from the enormous dues they exacted from every caravan passing through their territory. The barrier between East and West was chiefly economic, and Moslem overlords kept the books and sat taking toll at every frontier. Their sway seemed absolutely assured, until in the thirteenth century a new strange power was heard of from Mongolia. Gengis Khan and his hordes were on the move, out to conquer anything and everything, and they

swept over the kingdoms of the Prophet like a flight of locusts with the war cry "God in Heaven and Gengis Khan on earth."

Europe heard the news with mixed feelings, and probably uppermost was hatred of the Crescent. Could Gengis Khan be a friend in disguise? an old superstition had it that out of the depths of Asia there should arise a saviour king, of ancient lineage, who would free the Holy Places, and the legend of Prester John may have helped to influence Europeans in favour of any power likely to be hostile to the Mahommedan. But if Gengis Khan was to be looked on in the light of a saviour, it had to be confessed that his disguise was pretty complete. Still, when the armies from Mongolia were stopped by the Mussulman resistance in the Near East, it seemed to European diplomacy that the time had come for some sort of working understanding between Christians and Asiatics that would set the Moslem between the hammer and the anvil.

In any case something had to be done; for isolated groups of Tartars and Mongols were advancing as far as the Isonzo in Italy, and the Christian rulers began to hear tales of devastation in Prussia and Bohemia, in Poland and Moravia. Gregory IX saw the danger, and Innocent IV and Saint Louis of France both sent ambassadors to the Oriental court, choosing for this arduous office Franciscan and Dominican friars. These ambassadors were also missionaries; and the two most famous were Guillaume of Ruysbroeck, who was sent by the King of France, and Giovanni di Pian Carpino, one of the immediate followers of Saint Francis, who set out as the emissary of the Pope. On the whole the friars were fairly well received; they made some conversions, but above all they helped to open the door of the East to other missionaries and merchants of Europe.

The Europeans were not slow to take advantage of

this readier access to the countries of the Far East; single missionaries started on their own initiative; in the intervals of his own missionary journeys Ramon Lull never ceased his campaign for more missionaries, for colleges, for an organized scheme of missionary endeavour, and in 1278 Nicholas III sent five Franciscans to Persia on the demand of the Khan of that country, who asked that Christian missionaries should also be sent to China where Kubla Khan was reigning. In 1289 Nicholas IV sent out other friars headed by the great Giovanni de Monte Corvino, who became Bishop of Peking, with a diocese reaching from China to the Danube. In 1307 Clement V placed all Eastern Christians under his jurisdiction, but the diocese was found to be too unwieldy, and in 1318 it was divided and two other metropolitan sees were erected, one at Sultanieh, which was given to the Dominicans, and another at Caffa, where the Genoese had a flourishing trading colony.

For forty years Giovanni di Monte Corvino laboured in his distant post, where he laid the foundation for all subsequent Catholic missions. He founded churches and convents and baptized large numbers of people, and his letters show how considerable a man he was. He speaks of the many Nestorian Christians whom he found in China; for the Nestorians had been established in the Far East since very early times; they were expelled from China in the ninth century but allowed to return in the eleventh, and their hostility to the Friars was a serious obstacle in the path of the Catholic missionaries. Like Ramon Lull in the West, Giovanni di Monte Corvino wished for well-trained missionaries, young enough to learn the eastern languages; for half the effect of their teaching was lost if it had to be transmitted through an interpreter. Thanks to the Bishop's personal influence and his powers of organisation, in an amazingly short time Catholic communities sprang up in many places; the news of their successes and needs trickled back to Europe,

inciting an increasing number of Franciscans to start for the East.

And so in the spring of either 1314 or 1318 an obscure friar, Oderico of Pordenone, set out from his convent in Udine, his face turned towards the rising sun. Perhaps he was not so obscure as we think, but very little is known of his early life, only that he was born at Pordenone and had entered the Franciscan Order almost as a boy. Wadding speaks of his penances and austerities, and perhaps some contact with stray Orientals in Venetia had quickened his desire to carry the Gospel into distant lands. The first glow of fervour was still kindling the Franciscan Order, and like Ramon Lull and the other pioneer missionaries Oderico was ready to throw himself, singlehanded if need be, into the vast, many-peopled lands of the East, snatching a soul here and there, at the very best enlightening the ignorance of how few? Those men never doubted the final victory of the Kingdom of Christ upon earth, never heeded the meagre results of their own personal efforts; for them one soul brought to the light was worth a lifetime of hardship and peril and sacrifice; no price was too high in the adventure of the spirit they had undertaken.

Fra Oderico took with him that useful being called a "Famulus" and one other friar, who may have been either a certain Michele of Venice or an Irishman named James. It is not even sure whether he went by his own wish or whether his superiors sent him to bring them news of the eastern Franciscan communities; we only know what he says at the beginning of his travel book, written after his return: "I, brother Oderico of the Friuli, wishing to pass over the seas and go into the lands of the heathen to save their souls, heard and saw marvellous things of which I speak in all truth."

Oderico was bound for China, and he chose the Trebizond route, thus avoiding Antioch, Leopoli and Alexandria, which were all in enemy hands, and he and

his companions were able to pass through Armenia and Persia in the company of a caravan of merchants. When they approached Mount Ararat, Oderico was all for making the ascent in order to search for relics of the Ark; and when he was told that the mountain was inaccessible, he treated the statement with the scorn of a man born within sight of the Alps; but nevertheless he had to give up the climb, for the natives insisted that the heights of Ararat were holy and inviolable by the direct will of the gods.

The Franciscans continued their journey to Erzerum, Tebris, Jezsd, Bagdad and Ormuz, very much in the steps of Marco Polo, who had passed that way some twenty years earlier. At Ormuz they took ship for Tana and, like Marco Polo, Oderico complains of the wretched state of the boats plying with passengers between the two ports. Shipwrecks were frequent and were hardly to be wondered at; for the planks of the boat were only held together by rope made of cocoanut fibre, and in the twenty-eight days of the miserable voyage Oderico says he searched in vain for a single nail on board the vessel.

After landing at Tana, Oderico's record becomes fuller, and it was there that he picked up the strangest travelling companions—namely, four dead Franciscans. Their names were Fra Tommaso da Tolentino, Fra Giacomo da Padova, Fra Pietro da Siena and the interpreter Fra Demetrio, lay brother. They had been martyred only a few months previously, and there was little left of their poor bodies; but Oderico determined that he would take them with him to some safe place for burial, and for the rest of the way the living and dead Franciscans travelled together.

From Quilon they set out, this time on a good ship, round the coast of Malabar, and Oderico makes mention of the many idols set up in the church of Saint Thomas the Apostle. From Malabar they went to Sumatra, and evidently the heat became oppressive, for the Europeans noticed the loss of any fresh breeze from the north. There

Oderico tells of " many marvels and bestial things which it were not well to speak of before good Christians " ; for he was an excellent traveller as well as a missionary, and his insatiable curiosity and interest in every kind of thing kept his eyes constantly wide open. He saw the splendid Buddhist architecture of Java, the cannibals of the Andaman islands ; he noticed the wonderful vegetation, the climate and customs and food ; on every page the words are those of a keenly observant man. Confident that the four martyrs would not permit any evil to harm their living friends, Oderico spun his journey out to the utmost, turning and twisting through Indo-China, where he tells of a king having two hundred children and fourteen thousand elephants, and before whom the fishes of the sea did reverence on three special days in the year. He listened to the legends and superstitions of the countries through which he passed ; but Oderico had the practical sense of an Italian, and he looked with wonder at the extraordinarily dense population of Asia, at cities in comparison with which Treviso and Vicenza were but villages, while Canton was three times the size of Venice and had more ships in its port than were to be seen in all Italy.

From the moment that Oderico and his companions entered Chinese territory they must have travelled easily ; the roads were good and posts safe ; the Empire was ruled by a regime of tolerance and liberality, and a missionary was a privileged person, a holy man whose expenses were paid by the government. Chinese administration of that day was extraordinarily enlightened, and under the Mongol emperors China had prospered in many ways. Oderico's first halting place on Chinese soil was Ciang-ciù, where he found a Franciscan convent which had as Guardian Fra Andrea di Perugia. There at last the four martyrs were laid to rest, but there was no rest for Oderico ; he had not come so far only to bury the dead, but to preach the Gospel to the living Chinese, and in China he travelled far and wide.

Hang-ciù, with its twelve thousand bridges, seemed to Oderico the greatest city of the world; he was amazed at Chinese art and civilisation. He followed the imperial canal to Nankin, he spoke of Christ among the salt workers of Yang-ciù, and finally he reached "a noble city named Cambalec. This city is very ancient, more so than any other in the province of Cathay. It was taken by the Tartars with another city named Taido, distant from it about half a mile. This city has twelve gates, and the distance between them is two miles; it is thickly inhabited and the circumference is forty miles."

That was how Peking appeared to Oderico, and for three years he lived and worked there under the aged Giovanni, who died probably during his stay. He saw and studied in detail the civil organisation of the Chinese state and government; and he was presented to the Emperor, who was by no means hostile to the Christians—eight of his doctors were Christians. Oderico thus describes the palace:—

> In this city lives the Great Khan, and his palace is four miles in circumference, and within the precincts of the palace there are other palaces. Within the palace enclosure there is a mountain made by hand, and on it is built a palace which is the most beautiful of the whole world. The mountain is planted with many trees, for which reason it is called the Green Mountain, and to one side of the mountain there is a lake crossed by an exceeding beautiful bridge. In the lake there are many wild geese and duck and swans, so that it is marvellous to see them. Thus when the Lord wishes to go a-hunting, he can do so without leaving his Palace.
>
> The palace in which he lives is very large and beautiful, somewhat raised above the earth, and it has twenty-four golden columns. All the walls are covered with skins said to be the finest of the world. In the centre of the palace there is a great column higher than two paces, which is all of a precious stone called Merdicas (Jade ?), and it is all bound about with gold, and at each corner is a golden serpent which lashes furiously. This same column is adorned with great pearls. Near to it are many golden vases, from which everyone may drink of the water which from the column runs through the King's court.

Oderico goes on to describe the imperial banquets, when four thousand barons gorgeously dressed served the Emperor. He speaks, too, of the admirable order kept in the palace, of the endless officials, the philosophers, astrologers, actors and animals, of the ambassadors and soldiers, and the excellent system of post-runners throughout the empire. Of the position of the friars he writes:—

I remained in Peking a full three years, and many times I was present at the functions of the court; for we friars in all the court solemnities have our own appointed place, so that it beseemed us always to go and impart our blessing to the most powerful sovereign. . . . One day it was told us that the Emperor was about to arrive in Cambalek, and so our bishop, with several friars minor and I with them, went to meet him for the length of two stages. When we came near him, we placed the Cross upon a staff that he might be able to see it; I held the thurible, which I had carried with me, and in a loud voice we began to sing the *Veni Creator Spiritus*. He heard our chant and caused us to be called, that we might approach him. Then we moved towards him, holding on high the Cross, and when we had drawn nigh to him he bared his head and did reverence to the Cross. Then our bishop, having put incense into the thurible, took it from me into his own hands and incensed the King. All who approach him bring always some gift to offer him according to the ancient precept: "Thou shalt not come before me with empty hands." So we too brought some fruits to offer him, and he took an apple and put it to his mouth in token of pleasure, after which our bishop gave him his blessing. As he took leave of us he bade us stand aside, so that the horses and crowds that followed him should in no wise injure our persons.

This charming picture of Chinese manners shows to what an extent religious tolerance was carried at the court, where friars mixed freely with statesmen and grandees, with actors and philosophers, with Buddhist Lamas, Nestorian priests, Fachirs and Moslems. Oderico preached and worked with the other friars in the Peking district, and the conversions were numerous; he attributes part of their success to the friars' power of exorcising evil spirits, and of this particular gift he says:—

In that place God Almighty gave to the Friars Minor the

great grace to be able to cast out evil spirits from those who were possessed, and this as easily as though they turned a dog out of the house. For this cause many men and women whom the devils had rendered mad were brought to us securely bound, and sometimes they journeyed ten days to reach us. And when they were healed, at once they asked to be baptised and gave their idols that our brethren might burn them in the flames.

Three years of work showed Oderico the immense possibilities and the desperate needs of the eastern missions, together with the enormous difficulty of reaching the oriental mind. Either his superiors ordered him to return to Europe or he himself felt the necessity of going back to tell people in Italy of the true state of things, to beg further support from the Pope and to wake thousands to follow him into the mission field of Asia. So he started again, this time overland on foot or mule, covering the long miles between Peking and Italy, it is thought, in a fairly short time. He went by way of Tibot, which some scholars have identified with Thibet; but Oderico only says of it that there wine and bread are more abundant than elsewhere on earth, that the people live in tents of black skins, that the dwellings are black and white, that the roads are paved, and that at Albassi there lives the "Pope" of these men, which sounds like the Grand Lama at Lhassa.

Presumably he got back to Trebizond, but he says little of his route, and probably he landed in Venice in 1330. A manuscript in the library of Saint Mark's tells how many people, curious to hear news of foreign parts, went in the evenings to visit him in the convent of Saint Francis and asked of him many things. But Oderico did not want to waste time in telling his own adventures to idle listeners. If he returned to his own convent in Udine, it was only for a short time; his one idea was to reach the Pope in Avignon, explain to him how matters stood in the East, and beg for the immediate sending of fifty missionaries to spread the Gospel.

But Oderico, who had journeyed so far, was not to

reach Avignon; Brother Ass, worn out and ill, stopped short at Pisa. There Oderico had a vision of Saint Francis, who warned him that his days on earth would be few, and so he retraced his steps to Padua. While he was resting in the Franciscan convent there, the Minister Provincial ordered him to write an account of his journey, and Fra Guglielmo da Solagna acted as his secretary, setting down in Latin what Oderico dictated in Italian.

Even in Padua, famous as it was for the life and miracles of Saint Anthony, who had then been dead just a century, Oderico was not happy, and he dragged himself back to Udine, to the convent where he had received the habit of St. Francis, and his brothers saw he was a dying man. In those last months he must often have thought of the eastern missions, of the apostles whom he longed to send out, and of all the work that remained to be done. Perhaps he thought too of his long earthly journeys and of the four Franciscan martyrs he had laid to rest, and whose fate might so easily also have been his. Oderico did not wait long for his own rest; on 14 January 1331, "about the hour of None, lying in the arms of his brothers, he surrendered his spirit back to Heaven."

He was buried in the convent church, and before long his tomb became noted for its miracles, and among many who were there healed of their ills was his old travelling companion, Michele of Venice. The patriarch of Aquileja and Oderico's fellow-citizens, wishing to do him honour, ordered the sculptor Filippo De Sanctis to prepare a fine tomb, which was ready in 1332, and on it in lovely Trecento style is told in stone the story of his wanderings. His body was several times translated: in 1730 when the Franciscan church almost fell down; again in 1735, when it and the church of the Carmelites were joined to the Ospedale della Misericordia, which in its turn was suppressed by Napoleon; and to-day th tomb of Oderico is in the church of the Carmine. In 1775 Oderico was beatified by Pope Benedict XV.

To the world in general Oderico is known chiefly from his book, that book dictated hurriedly in the convent in Padua and which constantly confirms the statements made by Marco Polo in the Milione. Often they tell of the same things, yet how different the two writers are! Marco Polo is by far the more picturesque, and in his book there rings a note of natural personal satisfaction; Oderico's narrative is often bald and cursory, as though he were anxious to be done with it, which may have been partly owing to his state of health at the time. Fra Guglielmo, in a note, says that he had to jot down what Oderico told him as best he could, and he does not seem to have been at pains to polish the Latin afterwards.

There is no doubt that Oderico was a keen and genial traveller, and either a marvellous memory or notebooks helped him to remember many vivid details; but the "Relatio" throughout conveys the impression of having been written under obedience, and if the Minister Provincial had not ordered Oderico to record his travels, they would probably have been forgotten like those of so many other Franciscan missionaries of that time. As it is, he writes simply and directly; obviously he is not at all impressed with his own achievement, and he makes no mention of what subsequent writers have added, of how Our Lady and the Angels walked with him, speaking of heavenly things, or how he was miraculously fed by the fruit of a tree under which he had fallen exhausted when a whole village refused to help him. Oderico was not only poor materially—when he died an old inventory mentioned as his only possessions his habit, a worn-out hat, a hair shirt, a breviary, a water flask and glass—but he had no great opinion of himself, and the only miracles he records of his journey were those worked by the four dead Franciscans.

One striking omission in the "Relatio" is the lack of any definitely religious or Franciscan news, and in this Oderico differs from Giovanni di Monte Corvino, Giovanni

di Pian Carpino and Guillaume de Ruysbroeck, who wrote of nothing else and apparently cared neither for countries nor courts. The solution of the discrepancy that most easily suggests itself is that Oderico kept all the details of Franciscan work and needs for his superiors and the Pope, and the "Relatio" was written to satisfy the curiosity of friends and the outside world. If this be so, its popularity is shown by the considerable number of vernacular versions existing in different libraries. The first English translation was made by Richard Hackluyt in 1599, and the "Relatio" has had many commentators.

Of the work so near to Oderico's own heart, the spread of the Gospel in the East, a sad and glorious story might be told. The first period of the Franciscan apostolate ended in 1392 after the fall of the Tartar dynasty; for the Ming conquerors were intensely nationalistic and would tolerate no foreigners. The civilisation that Oderico knew and the Christian work and sacrifices of a century were swept away, and the Franciscan Missionaries did not re-enter China until the sixteenth century. The new beginning was sealed by the blood of a long list of martyrs which is not yet complete, and of the work begun by Giovanni di Monte Corvino, that work given by Saint Francis to his followers, only a fraction has so far been accomplished. If the proposal to canonise Beato Oderico is successfully carried through, it will be the glorification not only of one intrepid missionary, but of an enterprise so splendid that for seven hundred years it has drawn thousands of unnamed servants to sacrifice everything to it. And that, one feels, is the glory Oderico would have wished for.

NESTA DE ROBECK

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XXII

TO MARY

1. Éarṫa ar nṫlanaḋ ṫráṫ Muire
i ḋṫráṫ taṫra ḋá ṫine
luaiṫe ná ṫáṫ na ṫleiḋe
ḋleiḋe ṫráṫ uaiṫe ar ibe.

2. Sṫeaḃ ṫlan ḋo ṫáṫ a hóiṫe
bean ċáiċ ḋo ċuṫ le ċéile
ṫaoṁṫaiḋ ḋo ċoil Dé na ḋaoine
ṫé naoiḋe maṫ ṫoil ṫréine.

3. Caoinḃean ór ṫein an uṁla
ṫé ḋíḋin na ḃṫeaṫ ḃṫoṫla
ḋíon ċáiṫ ir ḋá taoḃ taṫla
cṫaoḃ aḃla ar ṫcláir ċoṁḋa.

4. Bean ḋíḋin ceaṫ a cinniḋ
a nḋíḋean ṫuṫ ḋo roṫain
ṫoiṁir ṫráiḋ ṫe na ṫaol ṫaḃaiḋ
cṫaoḃ taṫaiḋ ċáiṫ ḋá ṫcoḃair.

5. Ni ṫṁíoċ meaḋ ḋ'ṫionṫuil eile
bean le ḋíḋean ṫaċ ḋuine
cia an bean ḋo bí maṫ Muire
bean toiṫe i ḋon uile.

6. Duime ar fiog an craob cumra
lér cuireadh dlaoi ar a diomda
blát duille ón fár an umla
ubla grár uirre ar iomda.

7. Siol Éabha i n-éintiġ íril
go héirġe an éarġa nuarain
maitfid cóir glac dá gráraib
fáraid mac ón óiġ uarail.

8. Cnú croide cáic ir gaolmar
ón fár an t-eidhe óirġlan
bean nach beag méad a miorbal
réad brioġmar na leaġ lóġmar.

9. Iúl nime dúinn do dirġ
[gach] triúr re fine ir faoiliġ
raon 'na deoiġ do réidiġ
cóir déinimh eoil do naoidiġ.

10. Do dirġ cách ar creideamh
grár leir an fíġrin fuġadh
do coirg ré cách dá gcoġadh
coġar Dé an trát fa dtuġadh.

11. Slat réid gan baoġal mbéime
bean lér raorad ré line
báitfid rread fíorġlan óiġe
fíorġal cóire cneadh gciġe.

12. Taman óiġe nach aorda
dar maitead coir a céarda
rí ag guide Dé go dárda
grárda Muire 'r é ar n-éarġa. Éarġa.

Translation

1. A bright moon is Mary's grace; when her folk are on their trial, she consumes (*i.e.* gets from God and uses) each cup of favours more quickly than the wine in them can be plenished.

2. Pure stream rising in virginity; lady who would unite all men; new moon warm as the sun; she shall, with God's good-will, save the world.

3. Gentle lady, mother of Humility, moon of salvation for sinners; tree-branch of our ship of rescue; the world's salvation is with her.

4. Lady guardian of her race's fortunes, to uphold them has ever been her choice; she comes to her race (to be) a loving guide (for it); a fruitful tree for the world's saving.

5. No other being to suit (Christ's) wine-blood (?) was found except her, the lady who guards the world; was woman ever like her, the mistress of the universe?

6. The nurse of our Lord was the fragrant branch which removes His wrath, the choice foliage bearing Humility and many a fruit of grace.

7. Eve's race were all in strait abode until this new moon arose; a Son is born of the noble Virgin and a handful of her graces will meet the debt of justice.

8. Darling and kinswoman of the human race, mother of the golden Heir, wonder-working lady, mighty treasure of precious gems.

9. She has made straight the way to Heaven for me; every woman rejoices to have her kinsfolk near her; she has prepared the road for all to follow her, and has freshened the breeze to waft them.

10. Grace came into the world with the Lord and has shown it the way to the Faith; when God's Message (the Annunciation) was delivered, it held men back from rebellion.

11. Gentle lady free from reproach, and bringing salvation to the Six Generations; this pure stream of virginity will quell the wrath of Justice due to the wounded side.

12. Ever-young stock of virginity which won forgiveness for the crime of Christ's torturing, Mary's grace, praying ever henceforward to God, is our moon.

Notes

MS.: O'Conor Don's Book, *f.* 62.

1*b* a ᵹc. 3*c* ċaiċ ꝓoá. *d* ᵹcláꝑ cc. Line is short, read ꝑ cꝛaoḃ? 5*a* meaᵹ cꝑ. Or (reading c'ꝑíonꝺol) "No other wine-blood could be found equal to thine, the lady who . . ."; but ꝑíonꝺuiṫ usually is applied to Christ. 6*b* aꝑ a ᵹ. 8*a* c. aꝑ ᵹ. *b* ceiṫne. 9*b* ca.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

BY REV. P. W. BROWNE, D.D., PH.D.

RECENTLY was celebrated an event of great import to Catholics of the United States—the forty-second anniversary of the Catholic University of America. On November 13, 1889, the University opened its doors to ecclesiastical students who desired to do graduate work in Sacred Sciences. Six years later it broadened its field of educational activity, and admitted its first lay students.

In the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (October, 1866) the Bishops of the United States expressed their desire to establish a university " in which all branches of literature and science, both sacred and profane, should be taught," and their aspirations were thus expressed :—

> Let there be an American Catholic University, where our young men, in an atmosphere of faith and purity, of high thinking and plain living, shall be more intimately conscious of the truth of their religion and the genius of their country ; where they shall learn the repose and dignity which belong to their ancient Catholic descent, and yet not lose the fire which glows in the blood of a new people ; to which from every part of the land our eyes may turn for guidance and encouragement, seeking light and self-confidence from men in whom intellectual power is not separate from bending knees of prayer. . . . Ah ! surely as to whether an American Catholic University is desirable there cannot be two opinions among enlightened men.

The project of establishing an institution which should become " a focus of national influence and aid in mediating an ancient culture to a new nation " took definite shape in the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (November, 1884), and it was decided to establish a *seminarium principale* as the nucleus out of which a complete university should eventually develop.

The organization, control, and administration were placed in the hands of the Hierarchy, subject to the approval of the Holy See. The offer of $300,000 made to to the Council by Miss Gwendoline Caldwell, of Newport, Rhode Island, for the purpose of establishing a university was accepted. An Executive Board, composed of Bishops and Catholic laymen, was appointed to consider the details of the undertaking and to secure the necessary endowment. In March, 1889, an Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII, *Magni Nobis Gaudii*, sanctioned the undertaking. Some time later His Holiness approved the constitution and statutes, and granted it power to confer degrees. He defined its scope in the following terms : " To provide instruction in every department of learning to the end that the clergy and laity alike might have all opportunity to satisfy their laudable desire for knowledge."

On November 13, 1889, the School of Sacred Sciences was opened, with four professors—two Germans, a Belgian, and a native of France (Dr. Henri Hyvernat, who is still a member of the teaching staff). At the opening the student-body consisted of thirty-eight young priests, who came from different parts of the United States.

In April, 1891, the Rev. James McMahon, of New York City, gave to the nascent institution the sum of $400,000, and from this fund was built McMahon Hall. The schools of science and letters were opened there in 1895. In 1923 the Department of Canon Law was detached from the School of Sacred Sciences, and a distinct School of Canon Law was established. At the beginning of the administration of the present Rector, Right Rev. James Hugh Ryan, D.D., Litt.D., the academic organization underwent a change, and at present the University has a Graduate School of Divinity, a special Seminary Department, a School of Engineering, a Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and an Undergraduate School of Arts and Sciences.

The Constitution provides that the University shall be under the direction of the Bishops of the United States who have plenary authority in all that pertains to discipline, courses of study, and methods of instruction. This authority is delegated to a Board of Trustees appointed by the Bishops. The immediate government of the University is vested in the Rector and the Academic Senate, which comprises the Rector, Vice-Rector, General Secretary, the Deans of the different Schools, and two delegates elected by the Schools.

During the time that it has been in existence the Catholic University of America has had four rectors — Right Rev. John Joseph Keane, appointed in 1887; Right Rev. Thomas Joseph Conaty, appointed in 1896; Right Rev. Dennis Joseph O'Connell, appointed in 1903; Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, nominated in 1909, and twice reappointed (in 1915 and in 1922). He resigned in 1928, and bore the title Rector Emeritus until his death three months ago. He was succeeded in 1928 by Right Rev. James Hugh Ryan, D.D., Litt.D.

When the Catholic University of America was established in Brookland, a suburb of the City of Washington, some three miles from the White House—the home of the President of the United States—the suburb was undeveloped (it has now a population of about ten thousand), and it was reached by an unimproved road which served a few decadent residences; but to-day Brookland is a most prosperous section of the District of Columbia, with two public schools, a large Catholic parochial grade school and a high school, and a thriving Catholic parish, St. Anthony's.

When the University began active operations, there were just two buildings on its campus—Caldwell Hall and the Middleton mansion, which had been acquired by the Congregation of St. Paul the Apostle. At the present time the University has an imposing group of buildings, and gathered around it or in the near vicinity there are thirty-

two colleges for men, Trinity College for young Catholic women, and Catholic Sisters College, which has an attractive group of buildings to accommodate the nuns who attend classes there or at the University.

An eminent educational authority says : " This system of independent colleges is far different from the usual pattern of American universities, in most of which there is a rigid centralization." The relationship of the Catholic University of America with its subordinate colleges is more like the organization of a family. The several religious communities grouped around the University conduct their houses according to their own rule : many of the houses teach a number of courses within their own walls ; and their students may take few or many courses at the University. Withal they are definitely " members of the Catholic University " ; and they may take advantage of the facilities of the University, such as its library, its cultural activities, and its social life. Perhaps no two of the subordinate colleges use their affiliation with the University in the same way. Recently an academic visitor wrote : " You know nothing of the Catholic University of America unless you are acquainted with its family of colleges. These colleges are an interesting experiment in education—new in America, but old in Europe —and their workings should interest this nation, which is striving so hard to work out its educational salvation."

The Paulists were the first institute to take advantage of the educational facilities of the University, and in its natal year they established themselves on the grounds, in the old Middleton mansion. Here they remained until 1916, when they betook themselves to the splendid St. Paul's College on Fourth Street, just a short distance from their former habitat. Next came the Marists, in 1892. Another pioneer institution is the College of Holy Cross, where since 1895 most of the teaching staff of the famous University of Notre Dame, Indiana, have received their theological and academic training. In 1892 came the

Friars Minors, who built the " Franciscan Monastery " on the hilltop to the eastward of University campus, which is now one of the " show places " of Washington. Then followed the Dominicans and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, whose buildings flank the new Sulpician Seminary. This last institution, which is located directly opposite the main entrance to the University, offers training to candidates for the diocesan priesthood, and on its roster you find young men whose home dioceses range from Maine to California. During their theological course at the Sulpician Seminary the students take courses at the Catholic University in education, sociology, or some related field. Successful completion of their courses leads to the degree of Master of Arts. In addition, the students at the end of three years' course at the Seminary may take the University Examinations, written and oral, for the degree of Bachelor of Theology.

There is nothing sectional or parochial about the University. According to Dr. Gilgan, the President of Caldwell Hall, this building has housed during recent academic years students not only from the United States, but likewise from Germany, Italy, Spain, England, South America, the Philippines, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia—representing several archdioceses, dioceses, and religious orders. Among the last-mentioned were Benedictines of eleven abbeys in the United States, Brazil and Canada. The phenomenal increase in the number of colleges is evidence of the prestige which the Catholic University now enjoys : the number of colleges, of which there are now thirty-two, continues to increase at an extraordinary rate.

The growth of the Catholic University is due primarily to the paternal solicitude of the Popes. Only one month after his election Pius X wrote that he " would continue, in the fulfilment of his Apostolic office, the interest he had long cherished towards this distinguished American foundation." His deep concern for the welfare of the

University was emphasized by ordering an annual collection in all Catholic churches of the United States for its maintenance and development. This collection is the chief source of revenue for the University. Pope Benedict XV, notwithstanding his many international cares during the World War, wrote to the Bishops, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the University: "You, Beloved Sons and Venerable Brothers, should above all rejoice at the prosperity of the Catholic University of America; it is obvious to everybody that the beginnings and gratifying progress of this seat of learning are owing especially to your wise and timely care. Yet this joy of yours is not so peculiar to you, but that We also may in some measure share in it." Pope Pius XI has not been less appreciative and paternal than were his predecessors. In a message delivered in October 1928, he says: "It would bring discredit on the Church if your University did not attain the degree of perfection which it needs in order to realize its aims; all the more so because in your country there are so many universities richly endowed and supported by non-Catholics through the generosity of private individuals and associations . . . all should have at heart the development of the Catholic University of America, since it was established for the benefit of all the dioceses in America." Hence, the institution may fittingly be termed "the cultural shadow of the See of Peter in the United States."

Adequately to appraise what has been done by the University in the way of cultural and scientific achievements we should examine the literary output of its teaching staff and its students. For instance, the professorial staff had a large part in preparing the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, whose value and importance are recognized by scholars everywhere, notably in foreign universities. Its professors and its alumni have also contributed immensely to other scientific and literary achievements. A booklet of two hundred pages recently issued by the Secretary of the

Survey Council of the University, entitled *A Decade of Research at the Catholic University of America* (1921-1931), discloses how prolific have been the pens of the teaching staff and graduate students. A summary of their contributions is illuminating :—

	Books		Contributions	
Department	Professors	Students	Professors	Students
Art and Architecture	–	2	22	5
Biology	–	6	8	14
Celtic Literature	4	–	2	1
Chemistry	–	14	6	26
Civil Engineering	4	–	5	4
Economics	7	10	9	20
Education	7	37	158	238
Electrical Engineering	4	–	4	5
English Literature	6	8	25	85
Geology	–	–	–	3
German Literature	4	1	119	15
Greek and Latin	11	30	22	70
History	10	24	271	73
Mathematics	–	8	3	29
Mechanical Engineering	–	–	8	12
Philosophy	17	13	225	81
Physics	2	1	6	15
Psychology	4	8	44	–
Religion	6	–	49	–
Romance Languages	4	4	10	16
Semitic and Egyptian	–	–	9	3
Sociology	17	17	200	87
Canon Law	2	68	99	83
Law	4	2	42	7
Sacred Theology	40	30	272	58
Totals for 1921-1931	73	282	1,618	970

But this is only partially illustrative. In 1895 the University launched the *University Bulletin*, which for several lustra contained numerous learned articles, splendid book reviews, and miscellaneous studies from the pens of its professors. In 1911 the Department of Education of the University initiated the *Catholic Educational Review*, which is still "full of life and youthful vigour."

It publishes, monthly, contributions which deal with educational problems and methods from the Catholic standpoint, and supplies information regarding current movements in which Catholic teachers are interested.

The University has, likewise, taken a leading place in practically every Catholic activity in America. On the campus was organized the National Catholic Education Association, whose influence to-day extends from coast to coast. The American Catholic Philosophical Association also had its origin at the University ; and its official organ, *The New Scholasticism*, is edited by the Rector and the Vice-Rector. When the United States became conscious of the necessity of an organized programme of Social Welfare, the Catholic University anticipated Catholic needs by the establishment of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, and it has since supplied the *Catholic Charities Review* with editorial leadership. Numerous diocesan directors of charity organizations have been trained in its Department of Sociology. By co-operation with the National Catholic Service School, the University has prepared many young women for important posts in the field of Social Service.

Realizing the importance of history as a factor in cultural development, the Department of History at the University organized more than a decade ago the Catholic Historical Association, whose official organ, *The Catholic Historical Review*, is widely known for its scholarship. Recognizing the advantage of anthropological studies to Catholic missionaries, it has established the Catholic Anthropological Conference, which issues at stated periods a valuable publication known as *Primitive Man*. One of the most scholarly publications with which the University is identified is the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, which is published by the University of Louvain, under the editorial direction of Doctors Chabot, Guidi, Forget, and Hyvernat (Dr. Hyvernat, who has a world-wide reputation as an Oriental scholar, has been a

member of the teaching staff of the Catholic University of America since its organization). It is significant that Dr. Romanus Butin, S.M., a colleague of Dr. Hyvernat, was selected recently to serve for one year as Director of the American School for Oriental Research in Jerusalem.

Dr. L. V. Jacks, in the *Catholic Educational Review*, writes: "One is tempted to wonder at times if such tremendous exertions are worth their results. To such suggestion but one answer is possible. If the advancement of self were the object of all this labour, the reply might be that study should occasionally relax. But the ideals of scholarship in the Catholic University of America are aimed not at self-aggrandizement nor even—praiseworthy as the goal might seem—at the aggrandizement of the University which fosters such workers and studies. A broader scope and a higher aim lie behind all this toil, and as the scholar sacrifices himself for his science and his research, so his University in turn is devoting itself to a good cause—namely, the training for higher study, and the advancement of higher study, for the Catholic men and women of the United States. If the Catholic University had never done anything else, the founding of the Catholic Sisters College would entitle it to the gratitude of all Catholics."

Sisters College has had a marvellous influence in raising the standard of the parochial schools which, as is generally admitted, are the corner-stone of our educational fabric. The idea was initiated in 1911, when the Catholic University of America opened its first Summer Session, which was attended by a large and representative body of Teaching Sisters and by a number of lay women teachers. In October of the same year a Sisters College was formally opened. His Excellency Diomede Falconio (later Cardinal), Apostolic Delegate to the United States, presided at the opening ceremony, which took place in the chapel of the Benedictine Convent, at Brookland, in the neighbourhood of the University. A few weeks later a large tract of land was secured in the vicinity as a future

site of the Sisters College. In 1912 a portable building was erected on the grounds of the Benedictine Convent, which served as a chapel and lecture hall until June, 1914. The Sisters attending the College resided in rented cottages in the neighbourhood. Instruction was given (as it still is) by professors of the University.

In the interim the Board of Trustees of the University appointed a committee to study the needs of the Sisters College; and as a result of the report of the committee the Board of Trustees of the University decided that Sisters College was to be an independent organization, distinct from the University, but affiliated with it, so that the graduate students of the College, after having passed the examinations approved by the Trustees of the University, may receive University degrees. It was then incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia as the Catholic Sisters College.

In April, 1914, work was begun on the site which had been secured; and in September of the same year a temporary building provided a chapel, two lecture rooms, a dining-room, and a kitchen. In June, 1915, ground was broken for the erection of a permanent structure—the Anthony Brady Memorial Hall. This two-storey building, dedicated by the children of the late Anthony Brady, of New York, provided accommodation for a chapel, administrative offices, lecture rooms and library, dining-room facilities, and sixteen small living-rooms; and it was so constructed that wings might be added.

Prior to the erection of Brady Memorial Hall the Sisters of St. Mary of Lockport, N.Y., and the Sisters of Divine Providence of San Antonio, Texas, leased plots of land from the Trustees of Sisters College and erected thereon Houses of Study for the members of their own communities and other Sister students. In 1917 the School Sisters of St. Francis, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, also leased a plot of land and erected a House of Studies. In 1928 the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, of Glen Riddle, Pa.,

opened a convent on the College Campus ; and in 1930 the Third Order Minor Conventuals, of Syracuse, N.Y., erected a House of Studies which has accommodation for twenty Sisters.

In order to provide an endowment fund for Sisters College, an organization known as Sisters College League was established in 1915, and began the publication of an attractive quarterly, the *Sisters College Messenger*. This organ, which makes known throughout the country the aims and needs of the institution, has been the means of gathering a handsome sum for the purposes of the College.

In January 1917 Mrs. Nicholas A. Brady, of New York, established an endowment fund of $50,000 in memory of her father, the late Patrick Garvan, of Hartford, Connecticut. The Brady family have been generous supporters of the institution since its establishment. In January 1923, a North Wing was added to the Brady Memorial Hall, which provided a splendid chapel, twenty-two living-rooms for Sister students, and several class-rooms. In February 1926 a South Wing was opened. It contains, in addition to a large Assembly Hall, laboratories for Physics, Chemistry, and Biology, together with several smaller rooms for research work in the Natural Sciences.

The courses of study offered by Sisters College number some two hundred and twenty, and are outlined in the following departments :—Education, Philosophy, Psychology, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, English, Comparative Philology, Latin, Greek, Spanish, French, German, History, Library Science, Music, Religion. They are given by professors of the Catholic University, assisted by other instructors. From October 1911 to the end of 1930 Sisters College had enrolled 7,254 students, and sixty-one religious communities were represented. This representation comprised forty-four States in the United States of America, six Provinces of Canada, and nine foreign countries—Spain, the Philippines, Austria, England, San Salvador, France, Italy, Mexico, and Newfound-

land. In addition to Sister students the College had enrolled during the above-mentioned period 549 lay women teachers from the District of Columbia and from neighbouring States.

Another outstanding feature in the academic life of the University is its Summer School—it is a pioneer in the Catholic Summer School movement—which is now open to both men and women. Prior to 1930 the Summer School at the University was conducted exclusively for Sisters and for Catholic women teachers; but during the session of the year mentioned it was made available to both men and women: the curriculum was expanded; and it is now possible to do a certain amount of major work leading to an M.A. degree. The attendance during the session of 1931 exceeded 900; and it is stated that the immediate effect of its expansion was to attract many students who hitherto sought to follow courses at non-Catholic institutions.

Through the University's Department of Education assistance has been rendered to many diocesan school directors, to the Superiors of Religious communities, and to individual students. The service given by the University through its Committee on Affiliation is quite extensive. In 1929 more than fifty thousand examinations were given by the Committee on Affiliated Schools, which represent forty-two States, seventy-one dioceses, and four religious communities.

Yet even these activities do not adequately represent the scope of influence exercised by the Catholic University of America. More than one hundred alumni are now regularly serving editorially on fifty Catholic publications. Over seventeen hundred priests have been trained there, and among its graduates are numbered one cardinal and more than two score bishops. An average of one important book is coming every month from its professors and graduate students. The grain of mustard seed planted by the American hierarchy at Brookland forty-two years

ago has borne fruit abundantly—and it will, no doubt, bear more in the near future, for there are now on the University roll some 3,000 students and 128 professors, associate professors, and instructors.

But though a great deal has been accomplished, yet much remains to be done—and must remain undone so long as the University labours under a serious financial handicap. It is true that some splendid gifts have been received, among which may be noted the John K. Mullen Memorial Library and other material equipment made possible by gifts from the late Cardinal Gibbons, the late Rev. James McMahon, the late Marquis Maloney, and the Knights of Columbus. The Library built by the late John K. Mullen, of Denver, Colorado, has a capacity of housing a million volumes. At present writing the University Library has some 300,000 volumes, and accessions are coming to it rapidly. In addition to its general content the Mullen Library houses several special collections—notably the "Shahan Collection," the "Connolly Collection" and the "Ibero-American Collection." The Shahan Library is the gift of Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, former Rector of the University. The Connolly Library is named for its donor, Right Rev. Mgr. Arthur Connolly, of Boston, and it comprises a valuable collection of Americana, Hibernica, Canadiana, and many rare volumes on ecclesiastical history. The Hibernica collection is said to be the most complete collection of Irish History and Literature to be found in the United States. The Ibero-American collection, donated by the late Dr. de Olveira Lima, contains some forty thousand volumes; especially rich in works pertaining to the Latin-American countries, it forms a valuable collection for the student of Portuguese and Spanish Literature.

But though all these are valuable gifts, the financial resources of the Catholic University, when compared with those of other American Universities, must seem paltry

and unworthy of the Catholic population. In an article contributed to the *Ecclesiastical Review* (July 1931) the Rector of the University says :—

> What support has been given the Catholic University of America as compared with that given other members of the Association of American Universities? To-day the average endowment of member institutions in the Association of American Universities is $38,820,593. This does not take into account the item of State grants which are made to many of these universities. . . . . The Catholic University is often challenged to explain why its graduates are not more frequently seen in responsible public posts, such as are occupied by the graduates of Harvard, Stanford, Yale, Chicago, and Princeton. One reason is obvious—the fact that Yale has unencumbered endowments forty-two times as large as those of the Catholic University ; that Chicago University has, besides $25,000,000 in lands and buildings, additional resources of $84,000,000 ; that Cornell represents an investment of $40,000,000 ; and Stanford, $43,000,000. Both of these latter schools receive occasional grants for special purposes. . . . Even some of the so-called minor schools of the country have so expanded as to make the resources of the Catholic University seem insignificant. Oberlin, an institution of the Congregational Church, has resources amounting to $16,876,000. Berea, in the hills of Kentucky, under Baptist supervision, a college almost unheard of twenty years ago, has productive endowments of $12,000,000. Not long ago the Catholic University and the Rochester University (originally a Baptist institution) were on a financial parity. To-day Rochester represents an investment of $62,000,000, while the Catholic University gets along on less than a tenth of that amount.

It must not be concluded, however, that America is not able to support the Catholic University. Since 1915 the Catholic Church in this country has expended more than $400,000,000 in institutions of higher learning ; and it has spent approximately $2,000,000,000 on church buildings and parish schools.

P. W. Browne

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THE "DARK AGES" AND IRELAND

BY CHRISTOPHER DAWSON
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THE progress of modern civilization is no longer the unassailable dogma that it was in the days of our grandparents. The superb Philistinism of the nineteenth century is a thing of the past, and in many quarters there is a tendency to react in the opposite direction and to concentrate attention on the deformities and stupidities of the modern world. But even though we can no longer regard the culture of the nineteenth century as the peak of human achievement, we still owe it a debt of gratitude for its own services to the past. It was, after all, that self-satisfied and Philistine era that rediscovered the Middle Ages and first taught us to appreciate mediaeval art and culture, and yet more important, mediaeval religion and thought. To the men of the Augustan age Gothic was a term of abuse; scholasticism was a bad joke; and the whole Middle Age from the 5th to the 15th century was regarded as a desert of barbarism and stupidity when

> "Much was believed but little understood
> And to be dull was construed to be good;
> A second deluge learning thus o'errun,
> And the monks finished what the Goths begun."

And this view is not merely the result of Protestant prejudices; after all, Pope himself, whose lines I have just quoted, was a Catholic of a sort, and he voices the common opinion of his age—that of Catholic France no less than that of Protestant England.

No doubt the rediscovery of the Middle Ages was one of the factors that contributed to the success of the Catholic revival in the nineteenth century, but it was in

no sense the consequence of that movement. It owed more to Sir Walter Scott than to de Maistre and more to Ruskin than to Newman, while it was the Prussian and Protestant historians of the school of Ranke who laid the foundations of the scientific study of mediaeval history.

Consequently I do not believe that there is much ground for Dr. Coulton's strictures on Catholic historians for their uncritical cult of the Middle Ages. No doubt there is a great deal in Montalembert, for example, that justifies Dr. Coulton's criticisms, but Montalembert was far more representative of the Romantic Movement than of the Catholic tradition. He has the faults of his school and of his age, and every one of them can be paralleled in the work of contemporary Protestant historians, such as Leo, who were the real inaugurators of historical mediævalism, even in its most uncritical forms.

No. The real criticism that we deserve is that we have neglected the study of our own past too much and left to others the task of vindicating mediæval Catholicism from the depreciation and misunderstanding of later times. And this is above all true of the early middle ages that are so rich in saints and in monastic activity and so poor in secular culture. These are the centuries that are still commonly described as the Dark Ages, and from the point of view of the secular historian they deserve the title. But for Catholics and above all for the Catholics of Ireland and England they are not so much " dark ages " as ages of dawn, for they saw the conversion of the North, the golden age of Christian Ireland and the birth of mediaeval Christian culture. Nevertheless they remain *terra incognita* to the ordinary educated Catholic, and the revival of interest in mediaeval studies has had practically no effect so far as these centuries are concerned.

Consequently we owe a real debt of gratitude to Professor Laistner, the American scholar, for his recent book on *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D.*

400-900.[1] It is not, of course, intended to take the place of the first volume of Dr. Manitius' monumental work on mediæval Latin literature, nor has it the charm of W. P. Ker's brilliant little book *The Dark Ages*. It is a scholarly handbook, based on the researches of writers like Traube and Manitius and Lehmann, whose works are none too well known in these islands, as well as on a first hand knowledge of the subject. Its only serious fault is that there is not enough of it. It stops a century too soon and leaves its survey incomplete; the end of the Carolingian age does not mark the end of Carolingian literature. There is no literary or intellectual break between the 9th and 10th centuries, and it is not until the 11th century that a new age in literature and thought can be said to begin.

These centuries are by no means lacking in literature; but there is no literature that is less read or, it must be admitted, less readable. Nobody, I imagine, has ever read for pleasure the 100 volumes or so into which Migne has crammed the literary remains of the period, and the number of writers who still preserve their vitality can be counted on one's fingers—Boethius, Bede, Adamnan, Einhard, and perhaps Gregory the Great and Gregory of Tours. For the rest, it is a literature of schoolmasters whose very quotations are not original, but have their ultimate source in the writings of some grammarian or epitomist of the later empire.

It is significant that the most popular of all the works produced during the period seems to have been the Etymologies of Isidore of Seville—that amazing compilation of miscellaneous information in which the encyclopædic and pedagogic tastes of the age found complete satisfaction. Isidore was no doubt the most learned man of his age and thus deserved the praise which Braulio of Saragossa and Ildephonsus of Seville lavished upon him. But it was at best a secondhand and second rate

[1] London: Methuen. 1931. 15s. net.

learning. All those quotations from Pacuvius and Afranius and Ennius and Livius Andronicus, which suggest to the innocent reader that Isidore was deeply read in the works of the early Roman poets and dramatists that we no longer possess, are really lifted without acknowledgment from Servius and Festus.

This lack of originality is the most striking feature of later Latin literature. It has nothing to do with the "monkish obscurantism" of 18th century legend. It was due to the exhaustion of the secular culture itself. Indeed it is in the secular and not the religious literature of the age that this exhaustion is most evident. It is the literature of a dying society that distracts itself with trifles, as Verlaine describes in that fine sonnet of his on the Rome of the decadence :—

> Je suis l'Empire à la fin de la décadence,
> Qui regarde passer les grands Barbares blancs,
> En composant des acrostiches indolents
> D'un style d'or où la langueur du soleil danse.
>
> Ah ! tout est bu, tout est mangé ! Plus rien à dire !

It is only the religious literature of the time that has in it the seeds of life. The liturgical poetry of Romanus of Emesa is worth all the learned epics of Colluthus and Musaeus and the rest, and the hymns of Venantius Fortunatus—the *Pange lingua* and the *Vexilla regis*—are incomparably superior to the secular verse on which, no doubt, he would have preferred to stake his reputation. Still, as Professor Laistner observes, the remarkable thing about the poetry of Fortunatus is not its intrinsic qualities, but the fact that it is there at all ; for it was no small achievement for a classical poet to win a hearing in the barbaric society of the Merovingian age. And this is not an isolated phenomenon. Professor Laistner does not mention the curious outburst of literary activity which took place in Africa at the court of the last Vandal kings where the Latin anthology preserved in the Codex

Salmasianus was produced. And a similar movement of culture seems to have existed in Spain under the West Gothic kings, Sisebut and Chindaswinth, the first of whom was himself a poet of a sort.

There is, in fact, no reason to suppose that Western society was barbaric in the sense that it was hostile to literature. Secular literature perished not from neglect so much as from pedantry. The tradition of secular letters ends in the morass of sham erudition in which the amazing Virgilius Maro of Toulouse disported himself like a hippopotamus at play. No doubt there is much to be said for Professor Laistner's view that his writings are not intended to be taken seriously and that they are an elaborate skit on the pedantry of the grammarians.

Certainly it is difficult to suppose that Virgilius Maro is in earnest when he tells us that fire is called *quoquihabin* ("quod incocta coquendi habeat ditionem"), and his master, the great Galbungus, who disputed about the vocative of *ego* for 14 days without stopping, might well be a kinsman of the teachers of Gargantua. Nevertheless his writings were taken seriously enough by the Saxon and Irish scholars of the following period, such as Aldhelm, Maelsechlain, Cruindmel and Clement, and even considered as satires, his works throw a curious light on the intellectual standards of the 7th century.

The extravagances of the grammarians are quite enough to explain the famous outburst of St. Gregory in the preface of his *Morals* ". . . ipsam loquendi artem quam magisteria disciplinae exterioris insinuant servare despexi . . . non mytacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, hiatus motusque etiam et praepositionum casus servare contemno, quia indignum vehementer existimo ut verba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati."[1]

It is easy to parallel this attitude in patristic literature from St. Augustine's "what is to us what the grammarians

[1] Migne 75, 516.

want?" to the "O beata rusticitas" of the author of the life of St. Viventius in the 9th century.[1] It finds a particularly convincing expression in the well-known passage in St. Patrick's Confession, for there we feel that the Saint is not repeating a traditional sentiment, but is attempting to vindicate his own right to speak as a plain man of the things that are nearest to his heart against the contempt of the "lordly rhetoricians."

If the Church had admitted the claims of the grammarians and the rhetoricians, she would have forfeited her own claim of universality—her right to speak, as St. Jerome puts it, "not to the leisured schools and the scanty audience of the philosophers but to the universal human race."[2] This is the reason of the constant insistence of the Fathers and their successors on the absolute transcendence of the Christian tradition and its independence of the graces of form and style.

But on the other hand they were quite ready to accept the classical tradition as an instrument of Christian education and the vehicle of Catholic culture. And it was in fact this adoption of the classical tradition by the Church which saved it from the sterility and emptiness that had destroyed its secular vitality and gave it a new social and spiritual purpose which ensured its survival and its transmission to the new peoples. If the culture of the Carolingian monks is a culture of schoolmasters,they were the schoolmasters of Europe, and the whole subsequent achievement of mediæval civilization is dependent on their work. Hence the real interest of the period lies not so much in the actual achievements of the learned classes, which are at best artificial products, but in the gradual

[1] The expression is attributed by the author to Bishop Agilmar of Clermont, "qui venerabilis pontifex saepius relegens conversionem ac actus S. Viventii simplices ac paene incultos atque inerti sermoni descriptos deosculansque dicebat: O beata ac benedicta priorum rusticitas, quae plus studuit optima operari quam loqui, et magis novit sancta honestaque esse quam dicere." Acta Sanctorum 13 Jan. I., 813, in E. Norden. *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, p. 531.

[2] Ep. 21, 42.

penetration of the higher culture to the barbaric peoples and the resultant modification of their own culture.

This subject lies outside Professor Laistner's treatment, which is concerned almost exclusively with Latin literature, but he considers it briefly in a final chapter that is devoted to the vernacular literatures. The whole chapter is however devoted to the Teutonic languages, and Irish is excluded on the ground that the bulk of the existing material dates mainly from the 10th and following centuries.[1] This is regrettable, for however uncertain and obscure may be the literary evidence, there can be no doubt that Ireland was the earliest country to develop the new vernacular culture, and that it is in Ireland that the roots of the whole process are to be found. The Irish monastic culture was the source and model of the parallel development of vernacular Anglian culture in Northumbria, and this in turn transmitted its influence to Germany and became the basis of the new movement of vernacular culture in Central Europe. Moreover it is now generally admitted that the Irish culture had a direct influence on the new developments of Scandinavian culture, alike in literature and in art, in the 10th and 11th centuries.[2] The fact is that Ireland was the only country in which the classical tradition met the native culture on relatively equal terms, and consequently it was there that a synthesis of the two elements was achieved which resulted in the formation of a vernacular Christian culture and literature.

The rise of this new culture marks the turn of the tide of barbarism in the 7th and 8th centuries. It infused new life into the continental Church and the decadent classical tradition, and was the dynamic spiritual element in the

[1] There is moreover no reference, in either the bibliography or the notes, to Dr. J. F. Kenney's *Sources for the Early History of Ireland* (1929), which is indispensable not only for the study of the rise of Christian culture in Ireland but also for the Irish contribution to the continental development that is Professor Laistner's subject.

[2] Cf., *e.g.* A. Olrik. *Viking Civilization*, Eng. trans. 1930.

rise of the Carolingian culture. Nevertheless this brilliant movement of expansion was only a temporary phase. On the continent it was gradually replaced by the Carolingian culture that it had done so much to create. Mediæval culture as a whole is based, not on the Irish and Anglo-Saxon tradition of vernacular culture, but on the Carolingian tradition that had superseded it, and it was on this new foundation that the mediæval vernacular cultures of the continent were finally developed in the 11th and 12th centuries. In England the Anglo-Saxon culture gradually came under the sway of continental influences, until it was finally overwhelmed by the Norman conquest and forcibly incorporated in the new Western unity. In Ireland, on the other hand, the older tradition of vernacular culture was too strong to be forcibly uprooted, and it preserved its continuity unbroken through the Viking and Anglo-Norman invasions. But in consequence Ireland lost touch with continental culture and was isolated from the dominant mediæval tradition to such an extent that by the 12th century St. Bernard can speak of the old pioneer of Christian culture as an outer land of barbarism.

No doubt the ravages of the Viking invasions weakened the insular culture in Ireland, though probably not to the same extent as they did in England ; but the fundamental cause of the change was the divergence between continental and insular civilization that followed the formation of the Carolingian culture. Though the latter had received so much from Ireland, it gave little in return, and even as early as the 10th century the two cultures were beginning to drift apart. One of the earliest evidences of this is the curious poem of Dubduin of St. Gall which is preserved in a 10th century MS. :—

> These are the illustrious saints whom our noble island of Hibernia reared as her glorious children ; where grateful faith, virtue, honour and blameless life hallowed these palaces and lofty pleasant houses. They strewed over the fields of England the seeds of faith, and now ye gather the ripe fruits into your

storehouse. And we are their brothers sprung from the same stem as they; we whom ye arrogantly despise as pitiful weaklings, ye princes and swollen up members of the world; rather should ye appear as members of Christ. . . . Here the prudent man stops, nay Gall himself is also buried here; the bright flame of the Scots has risen to the skies. . . . .[1]

It is perhaps not without significance that the first serious attempt to transform the German vernacular into a vehicle of culture—I mean the translations of Notker Labeo, "the father of German prose"—should be associated with St. Gall, the monastery which was one of the chief points of contact between Irish and continental culture in the 9th and 10th centuries. So too in Iceland and Scandinavia the Irish influence contributed to the rich development of vernacular prose literature which took place in the 11th century. But as Professor Olrik remarks, in the work to which I have already referred, this Irish element in Scandinavian culture did not coincide with the main current of Christian influence which was derived from the continent. "It appears rather as an enrichment and expansion of the native North European stage of civilization than as a part of the new trend that accompanied the introduction of Christianity." And thus, though it was itself Christian in origin, it "somewhat impeded the rapid absorption of the North into Christian Europe."[2]

The existence of these two currents in the culture of post-Carolingian Europe is a most significant phenomenon in the history of the period, although its importance has not hitherto been sufficiently recognised. Both of them were founded on the culture of the Church and the monasteries and on the classical tradition, but while in the British Isles these traditions were fused with those of the native vernacular culture, on the continent they united with the tradition of the Christian Empire to form an

[1] J. M. Clark, "The Abbey of St. Gall," p. 29. M. Esposito in his Bibliography of Latin Irish writers (STUDIES II., p. 508) places Dubduin in the 9th century. According to Clark, however, his death occurred after 991. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[2] Olrik. "Viking Civilization," p. 120.

international Latin ecclesiastical culture, which was common to France and Germany and gradually extended its influence westward to England, northward to Scandinavia and eastward to Bohemia and the Slavonic borderlands.

Thanks to the labours of scholars such as Manitius and Traube and the rest, whose results are summarized by Professor Laistner, it is now possible to study the intellectual development of this movement. But unfortunately this is not the case with the earlier movement that led to the formation of the vernacular Christian culture in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England and which is in some respects the most interesting of the two. Here much of the preliminary spade work still remains to be done, and scholars have hardly begun to consider the central problem of the transmission of the classical tradition to the vernacular culture and the interaction of the two elements. This is perhaps inevitable, since the scholars who are learned in the classical tradition are, as a rule, ignorant of Gaelic, while the Gaelic scholars have concentrated all their attention on the native element in Irish culture and have tended to neglect the influence of the classical tradition. The result is that no synthetic history of Irish culture in the great centuries exists, and we must go to Germany for the standard editions of writers like Columbanus and Adamnan. Professor MacNeill has shown in his recent articles in STUDIES on "The Beginnings of Latin Culture in Ireland" how philology throws a light on the most obscure problem of all, the problem of origins, and there is no lack of similar problems that await solution in the following centuries for which so much more literary material is available. No doubt it will be a very long time before it is possible for anyone to write a History of Thought and Letters in Ireland from A.D. 400 to 900, but until that day comes our knowledge of the origins of mediæval culture must inevitably remain one-sided and incomplete.

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON

HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE

BY FERGAL MCGRATH, S.J.

WHATEVER may have been thought of other features of the recent Budget, there was one feature which can hardly have failed to elicit widespread approval, the apportioning of £5,000,000 to the housing of the working class. The City Manager of Dublin is reported in a press interview to have said that this grant would give reality to many proposals which had up to this had existence only in theory. In view of the fact, therefore, that there is every likelihood of the Five Year Plan of the Dublin Corporation being put into considerable effect, and also in view of the impending Town Planning Bill, it will not be out of place to set down a few considerations concerning an aspect of the housing problem, which is peculiarly vital in Dublin, the vexed question of building houses on virgin soil *versus* building flats on cleared slum areas. So much has appeared on this question, in the course of all the discussions that took place on housing last year, that further discussion might at first seem useless. But I do not think it is. Almost everything I have read on the subject has been written with a violent prejudice towards either one or the other view, the slum clearance party calling the virgin soil party unpractical idealists, and the virgin soil party hurling at the slum clearance party the accusation of creating new slums. What has happened in practice is that the slum clearance policy has almost altogether prevailed with the Housing Committee of the Corporation. It may be taken that the present intention is to build about 80 per cent. flats on former slum areas to 20 per cent. houses on virgin soil. Of course, slum clearance does not essentially involve the building of flats; but in practice it does, owing to the high price of

the sites. The tenor of this article will be: firstly, that the building of flats is so undesirable that it should only be resorted to in cases of absolute necessity; secondly, that there is still a large demand for houses which should be satisfied either in preference to building any flats or at least in a far higher proportion than 20 per cent.; and thirdly, that it is the duty of the citizens of Dublin to consider, before this huge flat-building scheme is embarked on, whether the great benefits of giving separate homes to the vast majority does not justify the extra sacrifice required.

I do not by any means insinuate that the problem has not been carefully considered by the Housing Committee. As we know, a separate Housing Architect's Department has been set up, the insanitary areas thoroughly mapped out, and the financial side of the scheme elaborately estimated. Nevertheless, I venture to think that certain sociological and even certain economic aspects of the question have not weighed heavily enough. At any rate, responsibility does not rest entirely with the Corporation. It is dependent to a large extent on what the citizens are prepared to do. All the recent agitation about housing has certainly made it easier for the Corporation to launch its Five Year Plan. If the citizens become convinced that a larger plan is desirable and possible, the way would be at least partially paved for its realisation. It will be of service therefore to put down a dispassionate statement of the merits and demerits of the two policies.

First of all, let us take the accusation made against the slum clearance party of creating new slums. To those who know the old slums this accusation is so absurd that it is no wonder it produces an impatient reaction. The old slum is public, foul, verminous, dilapidated, insanitary, without water or sanitary conveniences. The new flat, as exemplified by Mercer House or the Mary's Lane scheme, has its hall-door to cut it off, is clean, comfortable, has excellent sanitary arrangements, and—if the Mary's Lane

ideal of building on only 25 per cent. of the land is continued—the new flats will be four times as airy as the old slums. A warning note, however, was sounded in the City Manager's recent circular to the Housing Sub-Committee about the curtailment of playgrounds. This would heavily weigh the scales against the flat policy.

But now, having defended the flat on all the points on which it can be defended, it must be acknowledged that it has one fatal defect. It is not a proper home for human beings. In the history of the world has man ever, except under dire necessity, resorted to the strange device of building his home on top of another man's house ? Go and take your stand on the top balcony of the Mercer Building, which is looked on as our high water mark in flat building. Ask yourself does the hall-door give privacy when it opens directly on to a narrow common balcony and has to be always open for the children to come in and out. Should the threshold of the home be a concrete parapet heavily railed in ? Can the most ingenious architecture obviate the moral dangers of the common staircase ? Then go out to Cabra or Donnycarney. Forget for a moment that the rent is 13s. 9d. Look at the little garden bright with flowers or stocked with useful vegetables and the patch of grass where the smallest children can play in safety. Notice the quietness of the house even when the hall-door is open. When you look out of the window, you see, not empty space or the back wall of the opposite house, but the worker's little estate surrounding his little castle. This contrast has been harped on over and over again ; but has it been grasped ? The little house has one advantage only over the flat, but it is an overwhelming one. It is a natural human home, the flat is not. I have seen a defence of flats by one of the most experienced social workers in Dublin. He points to the flat-life of London, not looked on as a hardship even by the rich. The reasoning is fallacious. The rich flat-dweller has his car, his golf, his week-ends. For the poor

man, and above all for the poor woman and her children, the home is ninety per cent. of their existence.

This is no mere sentimentalising. It is the statement of a vital ethical truth. Flat life is an unnatural thing, a totally new thing, unheard of before the beginning of the last century. It hits a smashing blow at a fundamental instinct of humanity, the instinct to guard the family by isolation. Surely it is a momentous step to decide to box up 50,000 citizens of Dublin[1] for many generations to come in this unnatural form of existence. Since the world began until the Industrial Revolution, man lived in separate homes, even though they were only hovels. We should be slow to force 50,000 of our fellow-citizens to break this century-old tradition. Can we foresee with confidence what type of citizen it will evolve ? Tampering with the natural instincts of mankind usually leads to strange and unforeseen results.

One may go further and say that the building of large numbers of flats is a positive menace, as it is, although not intentionally, in line with the philosophy of communism. The more men you deprive of even the minimum of property represented by a garden and a really private entrance, the more you are weakening throughout the State that clinging to and respect for property that is the expression of man's desire for liberty. If a more even distribution of property is to be the keynote of our national economic policy, is it a good start to deprive thousands of workers of that most primary belonging, a home in the fullest sense of the word ? If a communist organiser wished to lay plans for the development of communist cells throughout Dublin or for the building of " red forts " for revolutionary purposes, could he do better than dot the city over with large barracks of propertyless men ?

At this stage of the argument the flat protagonist usually breaks in with " Well, granted that all this is true,

[1]The Five Year Plan contemplates 10,000 dwellings.

what do you propose to do ? " And here the virgin soil man's imagination takes flight. I have heard it from a Deputy of the present Dáil, I have read it from the pen of an able journalist, that vision of a Garden City—" somewhere outside the city "—to which the workers are to be transported by magic. The " flat realist " immediately attacks that City and usually on six points. His objections are : (*a*) the people will not go out to it ; (*b*) the people cannot afford to pay transport out to it ; (*c*) where are the houses to be built ? (*d*) what is to be done with the slum sites ? (*e*) you are neglecting the poorest and therefore worst-housed classes ; (*f*) the extra cost cannot be borne by the ratepayers.

Now whilst acknowledging that the Garden City builders are frequently vague in their proposals, a great deal can be said on their side. First as to objections (*a*) and (*b*). It is perfectly obvious that this is true of certain large classes—the unemployed, for instance, and those like dockers whose work entails living close to it. But on what grounds has it been estimated that these form 80 per cent. of the workers or are going to form it in the future ? Is there any way in which an accurate estimate at all can be made ? It would require a census, not only of the incomes but of the character and inclinations of each individual tenement dwelling family, which is plainly impossible. In default of such an estimate, why not begin at the other end and keep on building houses until the demand ceases ? Mr. Simms, Housing Architect of the Dublin Corporation, stated recently in a paper read at a meeting of the Institution of Muncipal and County Engineers that the Corporation were confident of being able to provide houses at 10s. weekly. It is too early to judge how far Mr. McEntee's hope will be realised of putting rents so low as 4s. But there are certainly still a large number of families willing and able to pay 10s. and yet houseless, and if the figure drops even to 7s. 6d. the demand would be overwhelming. It must be remembered

that as much as 10s. weekly is being paid for single slum tenements and that 6s. is quite a usual rent.

At once the flat defenders raise the question of transport. On this point the following figures will be of decided interest. They relate to one of the newly-formed suburban communities, and were compiled for certain purposes by a committee of the people themselves.

Total population, 259 families.
Average number in family, 6.
Average family income per week, £2 12s. 0d.
Average rent (all included), 12s. 0d.
Average travelling expenses, 4s. 0d.

The statistics were compiled by units, and the figures for some of the separate units are even more striking.

Unit A.—Total population, 124 families.
Average number in family, 6.
Average family income per week, £2 3s. 0d.

Unit B.—Total population, 47 families.
Average number in family, 6.
Average family income per week, £2 8s. 0d.

Hence it appears that this community of 259 families is willing, for the advantage of a house, to pay 16s. per week out of an average wage of £2 12s. 0d., though 6 persons have to be supported out of the residue; whilst 47 families are willing to pay 16s. out of £2 8s. 0d. and 124 families 16s. out of £2 3s. 0d. When I say "willing," I do not by any means wish to approve of this heavy levy, or to deny that it means a continual struggle. My point is that if these families can pull along for years, as they have, paying 16s., they would be perfectly satisfied if their total expenses were 7s. 6d. rent plus the 4s. travelling allowance, 11s. 6d. in all, whilst even the Corporation's own figure of 10s. per week would give two shillings margin.

I can state also that in this particular community the

advantages of having a separate house, good air and a garden where the children can play are highly prized, and not one of these families would return to the city if they could help it. The first item to be reckoned in the week's expenditure is always the rent. Indeed there are many families struggling on who really cannot afford to stay in the houses. Here are a few cases at random.

	Total income.	No. of children.	Rent.
A.	£2	7	9s.
B.	30s.	5	9s.[1]
C.	35s.	5	11s.[2]
D.	£2	6	10s.

It is obvious, of course, that it is absurd for such families to be paying such rents. As a matter of fact they are all obliged to receive assistance from charitable organisations. But the fact that they are struggling on to maintain themselves in their present surroundings shows how highly they value those surroundings.

Another useful, though only approximate, indication as to the existence of a large number of families who could and would pay for a house on virgin soil even at the present rates may be gleaned from the table given on page 163 of Vol. IV. of the 1926 Census. On this page are given the number of males in the principal groups of occupations classified according to size of dwelling and housing densities. In column 1 we find that the number of males in gainful operations who were living in dwellings of 1 and 2 rooms was 38,799. Out of this number for our purposes must be excluded classes like Catholic clergymen and clerical students and those in personal service, who from the nature of their occupations do not require an entire dwelling ; also we may exclude builders' labourers, navvies, minor shop hands, and general labourers, whose wages are

[1] This man pays also 1s. per week to make up arrears.

[2] Sometimes misses a week, but makes a great struggle to pay. An army pensioner nearly totally blind.

as a rule low and whose employment is precarious; all agricultural occupations may also be omitted. Excluding all these, we get a total of 27,850 made up as follows :—

Makers of Food	1,212
Makers of Apparel and Textile Goods	1,139
Workers in Wood and Furniture	2,054
Metal Workers	2,727
Builders (excluding Labourers and Navvies) ...	933
Other Producers, Makers and Repairers	4,856
Drivers of Motor Vehicles	746
Drivers of Lorries, Carts, etc.	2,170
Other Transport and Communication	6,883
Shopkeepers	449
Shop Assistants	926
Civil Service and Local Authority	389
Army, Civic Guard, etc.	454
Clerks	752
Other Gainful Occupations	2,160
	27,850

How many of these were married men? A fairly accurate answer can be given. On page 154 of the same volume of the Census we find the figures for the entire Saorstát of males living in 1 and 2 rooms.

Married	88,477
Widowers	12,628
Single	190,263.

Take it that one-third of the widowers (4,209) have families dependent on them, and we get 92,686 family men out of a total of 291,368, a little under one-third. Hence it is fair enough to take it that of the Dublin County Borough total given above, about one-third or 9,000 were men supporting families.

One last check must be made. In Vol. VI. of the same Census (p. 31) will be found detailed figures of the total number of males at work and out of work in the Dublin County Borough. The highest figure is for metal workers

—about one-sixth (1,159 out of 6,965). The totals for all classes of occupation are 13,580 out of a total of 92,282—about one-seventh. Let us allow that among the class we are dealing with, dwellers in 1 or 2 rooms, unemployment would be at its worst, and let us subtract one-fifth or 1,800. Our final conclusion is that in 1926, there were in the Dublin County Borough (excluding Rathmines, Pembroke, Blackrock, and Dun Laoghaire) at least 7,200 families living in 1 or 2 rooms, belonging not to the unemployed, nor to the casual or poorly paid labouring class, but to the classes of skilled artisans or commercial employees.

It must in all fairness be said that it is precisely this class who have largely benefited by the housing schemes of the Corporation, but in view of the fact that the total number of houses built since 1926 is at most about 4,000, a very large number of them must be still houseless. Also it is clear that I have carefully understated the case to make the argument more forceful. Thus, many of the single men whom I have excluded, would be sons supporting a widowed mother and younger children. Again many of the builders' labourers, whom I have also excluded, are long service men and steadily employed. Finally, though many of the families we are considering have been housed since 1926, they would be balanced to some extent by immigration and natural increase of population.

But indeed the above conclusion must agree with the everyday experience of the ordinary citizen, that there are still at least some thousands of respectable artisans and others willing to pay for a house, but unable to get it. I have in mind one such case recently encountered, a railway worker married and with two children, who earns £2 10s. a week, has been looking for a year for a house and has gone out as far as Rush and Glenageary in his search. He pays 10s. per week for rooms.

As an actual matter of fact the demand for the recently completed Corporation houses has been overwhelming.

Here are the figures for some of the most recent schemes put at my disposal by the Housing Committee.

	Cabra	Donnycarney	Marrowbone Lane
Number of houses built	641	421	88
Number of applications	2,000	1,500	725
Number of applicants selected	757	605	107
Percentage selected	37%	40%	13%

On account of the regulation that each applicant must have at least four children under 21 years, about 50 per cent. of the applicants were disqualified.

In all this matter of estimating the number who, even at the present moment, could and would pay 10s. *plus* transport for a house, I confess that the sources of information are all only approximate. Hence it would be rash for me or for anyone to dictate to the Housing Committee the number of houses they ought to build. But it seems to me that the plan I propose is a safe one. Build the houses until the demand ceases. This seems wise, especially as there are indications that the Government are going to make an effort to provide cheaper houses. Why not postpone as long as possible the evil day of flat-building in the hope that these efforts will materialise and that houses will become possible for all or nearly all ?

Let us now return to objection (*c*) against the virgin soil policy : where are the houses to be built ? Between Kimmage and Crumlin room would be found for perhaps 2,000, but the obvious direction for expansion seems to be between Griffith and Collins Avenues, north and west of Collins Avenue, and north of Killester. Here there is unlimited land. And it should be borne in mind how

absurdly near to the city this area is. From O'Connell Bridge you can reach Donnycarney in fifteen minutes on a bicycle and Killester in twenty. The bus costs 2d. and gets you to Donnycarney in ten minutes, to Killester in fifteen. Think of the incredulous joy of the burgermeister of any continental town if he found unlimited virgin soil so near at hand.

Furthermore I think that somewhat exaggerated stress has been laid on the vast extent of land required and the inaccessible distance to which it would be necessary to go. In the recent schemes about 15 houses have been built to the acre. Mr. Simms, in the paper referred to, allows as many as 25. Personally I think the roads and even the gardens in the completed schemes are a bit on the lavish scale. However, even taking the figure of 15, one square mile of land would hold about 10,000 houses. It seems to me that an area 2 miles long and half a mile deep could be easily obtained in the region I have referred to, and thus 10,000 houses could be built no more than half a mile further than Donnycarney from the centre of the city.

I would suggest that it should be one of the first cares of the Housing Committee, or possibly of the proposed Housing Board, to secure for the municipality large extents of land in suitable places. Even if the views set forth in this article are not adopted and the policy of flats is persevered in, what of the future ? The City Manager has acknowledged that it is going to be " a tight fit " to get all the existing slum dwellers into flats. What will be done with the next generation ? Should not a long view ahead be taken and this land, so near the city, be saved for the poor ? The rich can better afford to go further afield. And this must be done at once. Every day the land is being snapped up by private builders.

Then there is objection (*d*) : what is to be done with the slum sites ? Portion of them will be requisitioned for whatever flats are absolutely necessary, portion for business premises. What to do with the others seems to me to be

more a problem for the owners than for the Municipality. In investing their money in property of this type they knew the risk involved of its losing its value if proper housing were ever provided on a large scale. Most of the slum owners have already got their money back several times over. I would view with perfect equanimity the prospect of leaving these sites derelict, or at best cleared and empty for an indefinite space of time. It would not add to the material beauty of the city for the time being but this would be a very small consideration compared with the fact that the majority of the people had been provided with proper homes. And from the ethical standpoint these same areas would be things of beauty compared to what they are at present, monuments of injustice and breeding-grounds of disease. When the value of the sites dropped sufficiently, they could be purchased by the Corporation as sites for further houses.

A possible objection to this last proposal is that in practice their value would not drop for a very long time, that the building of the new houses outside the city would not relieve the congestion within. In answering this objection we answer simultaneously the next objection, that building on virgin soil leaves the poorest classes unprovided for. Amongst civic officials the term "infiltration" is used nowadays to describe the policy of providing accommodation outside a city in order to relieve the pressure at the centre. It is commonly stated that this system has failed in Dublin. The answer is that it has failed because it was never tried on a proper scale. If you have 23,000 families in one-room tenements, and if you build outside the city 4,000 houses[1] at rents which most tenement dwellers cannot pay and take 10 years to build them, you cannot be surprised to find that you have only relieved about 2,000 tenement dwellers. If 10,000

[1] The Corporation has built 4,500 houses in the past 10 years, but the figure of 23,000 single room families is for 1926, and presumably at most 4,000 of these houses were built since then.

or even 5,000 houses at 7s. 6d. a week were built rapidly outside the city, then the vacation of the better class tenements would undoubtedly better the lot of the poorest. And there has never been any doubt that the virgin soil policy is by far the quickest. The legal proceedings connected with the purchase of city areas are notoriously slow, and when a flat building of (say) three stories is being run up, obviously only one-third the number of men can be employed that could work simultaneously at an equal number of houses on separate sites. For the Mary's Lane scheme of only 72 dwellings 18 months has been allowed. The 300 houses in Cabra were run up in 12 months.

Finally we come to the question of costs. Contrary probably to the general impression of the public the initial cost of flats is higher than that of houses. Compare these figures which have been put at my disposal by the courtesy of the Housing Committee :

Flats—Mary's Lane.

Price per acre	£4,450.
Number of flats to acre	About 40.
Cost of roads, sewers, drainage	Nil (bounded by existing streets).
Building cost per flat, Oct., 1931	£388.

To get the all-in cost per flat we must calculate the cost of site per flat. Now I do not think it fair to take $\frac{4450}{40}$ for this, as the Mary's Lane site was unusually costly. But $\frac{3000}{40}$ would be a safe figure—*i.e.*, £75 per flat. Hence total cost per flat is £388 + 75 = £463 per flat.

Houses—Cabra.

Price per acre	£367
Number of houses to acre	15
Hence, cost of site per house	£24
Cost of roads, sewers, drainage per house	£37
Building cost per house (1930-31)	£396
Total cost per house	£457

Note also that a large number of these were four-room houses compared to three-room flats, and that at times £4,000 or more per acre will have to be paid for slum sites. It is true that one reason for the costliness of the Mary's Lane site is that only 25 per cent. is being built on. But this must go on. If the open spaces and playgrounds are cut out, and flats jammed up against one another, then indeed new slums will be created.

But now the flat-builders' defence on the point of costs must be stated. Clearly separate houses are going to cost large sums for the upkeep of roads, sewers, lighting and removal of rubbish. But I must confess that I should like to see this calculated out in practice for a unit, say, of 1,000 houses over a period of some years before accepting it as a final argument for relinquishing the building of separate houses.

In any case, the question of costs, though so important in itself, is not strictly relevant to my main contentions, which are that even at the Corporation's own proposed rent of 10s. per week a very large number of separate houses could find occupants, and that as far as possible the building of flats should be postponed in the hope of some reduction in cost to the Corporation and hence to the tenant, thus making it possible to provide houses for the large majority.

FERGAL MCGRATH.

MR. BELLOC ON USURY[1]

BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J., M.A.

FEW readers will be found to disagree with Mr. Belloc's exposure of the dangers arising from the present system of banking and finance and, particularly, from certain forms of loan interest. But in such matters little is gained by exaggeration, however well-intentioned, and a meticulous accuracy of thought and expression is demanded by the seriousness and importance of the subject. On two points especially the reader of Mr. Belloc's essay is liable to be led astray by the author's over-vigorous and inaccurate statements or implications—namely, on the present Catholic discipline concerning usury and on the exact nature of usury itself. In the course of the essay the following sentences occur :—

" You tell us " (says the objector) " that in other times when the Faith was universally held . . . Usury was forbidden " (p. 17).

Yet if it became a matter of Catholic discipline that men should not to-day touch that unclean thing, the interest-bearing unproductive loan,[2] discipline would stand self-condemned. The ecclesiastical order *could* not be obeyed (p. 21).

These two statements leave on the reader the impression that to-day the Church has not made usury " a matter of Catholic discipline," that usury is not forbidden to Catholics. Indeed one gathers (perhaps wrongly) from the whole essay that Mr. Belloc himself is under this impression and wishes to convey it to his readers. For him usury is an evil and is destroying society, but Catholics can do nothing about it. The whole system of investment

[1] *Essays of a Catholic.* By Hilaire Belloc. (Sheed and Ward. 1931. 7s. 6d). Usury. [Reprinted, with an Introduction, from *Essays of a Catholic.*] By Hilaire Belloc. (Sheed and Ward. 1932. 6d.). All references in the following article are to this pamphlet.

[2] This is Mr. Belloc's definition of usury (pp. 3, 5, 11).

renders it impossible for them in practice always to avoid the taking of usury. They are living in a world where in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand a Catholic is unable to know whether the interest he is asking for his money is usury or legitimate profit. This is a startling doctrine, and very far-reaching in its consequences. If things have come to such a point that Catholics are morally compelled to do something that is intrinsically evil, such as the taking of usury, may not the time come when other things equally evil and immoral—divorce or birth-control—will also be morally unavoidable by Catholics? Mr. Belloc would undoubtedly reject, with all Catholics, the possibility of such a state of affairs. But he should also logically reject the possibility of Catholics (or anyone else) being morally forced to take usury.

The truth of the matter is, of course, that the Church has made and does make usury a "matter of Catholic discipline"; Catholics are forbidden to take usury, and the Church attaches a severe punishment to the violation of this prohibition.[1] Her discipline on this matter does not stand self-condemned; and the ecclesiastical order not only can be obeyed, but is obeyed. And this discipline is not some obsolete or obsolescent law, an out-of-date survival and relic of medieval times. On the contrary, in its present form it is quite modern, formulated and promulgated less than twenty-five years ago. Any Catholic layman legitimately condemned to-day of the crime of usury is *ipso iure exclusus ab actibus legitimis ecclesiasticis et a quolibet munere, si quod in Ecclesia habeat*,[2] and is naturally bound to make restitution of all ill-gotten gains. A cleric (and there must be hundreds of them who have some money invested in a "War Loan—that crying instance of Usury," as Mr. Belloc calls it[3]) is liable to much more severe penalties.

[1] Codex Iuris Canonici, Cn. 1543 and 2354. [2] Ibid. Cn. 2354.
[3] Usury, p. 21.

Such being the case Mr. Belloc is quite right when he says that "Usury is indeed a matter of first-rate public importance. It is a matter of life and death." It is, indeed. It is even more: it is a matter of eternal life; it is a matter of mortal sin. And, therefore, I am in complete agreement with Mr. Belloc when at the close of his introduction he writes: "Discussions upon Usury, definitions of it, and investigations of its nature are grimly worth while." Usury, writes St. Thomas Aquinas, "is a mortal sin. And it is not a sin because it is prohibited, but rather it is prohibited because it is in itself a sin; for it is contrary to natural justice."[1] For Catholics, therefore, it could and would make no essential difference to their attitude and practice with regard to usury, even if it were not (as it undoubtedly is) "a matter of Catholic discipline," definitely forbidden and severely punished. Whether it were forbidden by ecclesiastical law or not forbidden, usury is, and always was and will be, a sin—and *ex genere suo* a mortal sin. In one passage St. Thomas gives it as his opinion that God Himself could never make it lawful to take usury: "Occidere innocentem importat determinationem mali; et hoc nunquam potest bene fieri, sicut nec dare mutuum ad usuram."[2] And faced by the obvious objection of the permission given by God in the Old Testament to the Jews, he does not withdraw an inch from his position: "Dicendum [est] quod accipere ad usuram ab extraneis non fuit concessum Judaeis quasi licitum, sed permissum—ut, scilicet, pro hoc non punirentur poena temporali."[3] St. Alphonsus Liguori, writing 500 years after St. Thomas and in completely different circumstances as regards the economic life and habits of the world, teaches the same doctrine with the same emphasis. He cites two moral theologians, Bonacina and De Lugo, coming in the 17th century between himself

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[1] *De Malo*, q. XIII art. 4, in corpore.
[2] *De Malo*: q. XIII, art. 4, ad 11. [3] Ibid. ad 1.

and St. Thomas, as declaring that usury "is clearly iniquitous and a mortal sin against human and divine law."[1] He then adds himself: "It is certain that usury is also prohibited by the natural law . . . . as the theologians and jurists commonly teach with St. Thomas."[2] Benedict XIV,[3] writing about the same time, declares: "It was and is the constant teaching of the Catholic Church, established by the unanimous consent of all councils, Fathers and theologians," that usury "was prohibited by every law, natural, divine, and ecclesiastical."[4] And finally, as representing the teaching of modern theologians living under "the Reign of Usury" and thoroughly acquainted with debentures and War Loans and the whole economic situation in which Catholics have to live, Fathers Damen and Prümmer may be cited. The former writes: "Usury properly so-called is strictly prohibited. That is proclaimed with one voice by the Scriptures, the Councils, and the Fathers. . . . Usurers are bound in justice to restore to the borrowers or their heirs, to the utmost of their ability, the usurious sums they have extorted; for they are thieves and robbers."[5] The latter is equally clear: "Usury properly so-called is contrary to the positive divine law, to ecclesiastical law, and to the natural law."[6]

What, then, are we to say about Mr. Belloc's statement that if the Church were to forbid usury, "discipline would stand self-condemned. The ecclesiastical order *could* not

[1] *Moral. Theol.*, Lib. III, 758 (Gaude's edition, vol. II, p. 203).

[2] Ibid. 759.

[3] Benedict XIV (Prospero Lambertini), besides being Pope, was one of the most learned and distinguished canonists of his day. Clement V had already declared it heretical to deny that usury was a sin.

[4] *De Synodo dioecesana*, l. 10, c. 4, n. 2.

[5] *Theol. Moral.* (Torino, 1928), Vol. I, n. 908.

[6] *Theol. Moral.* (Freiburg, 1928), Vol. II, n. 286. These two authors, one a Redemptorist, the other a Dominican, are quoted merely to show what doctrine is actually held and taught in the schools to-day by moral theologians. The thing is a commonplace of Catholic morals and canon law. And, of course, Mr. Belloc does not deny that usury is a sin; it is an article of faith that it is.—Denz. 479.

be obeyed?" "I agree," writes Mr. Belloc's supposed opponent in the pamphlet, "I agree that Usury is an evil . . . . What then are we to do about it all?" And Mr. Belloc answers: "To this I must answer in my turn that nothing immediate can be done. You cannot pull out a vital part of any existing social structure;" and he adds later on: "What sane man would hesitate to put his regular little self-denials into savings certificates or his modest £1,000 into a War Loan—that crying instance of Usury?" So we must admit that the natural law, the divine law, and the ecclesiastical law—all of which sternly forbid usury—stand to-day "self-condemned." We must conclude that we Catholics, and all other men, are unable to obey in this point the serious orders of the law of nature, the law of God, and the law of the Church. At the very best, we must go on committing material sin after material sin in this matter; at the worst, now that Mr. Belloc has deprived us of our *bona fide* ignorance, we are all on "the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire" —for the prohibition against usury is a negative law which binds *semper et pro semper* and from which no difficulty, not even the danger of death, can excuse us.

II

MR. BELLOC AND THE NATURE OF USURY

All through his essay Mr. Belloc makes it clear that when he uses the term "usury," he does not want to use it in any popular or colloquial sense, but in its exact and proper meaning. At the very outset he writes (p. 5): "Usury does not mean high interest. It means any interest, however low, demanded for an unproductive loan." Later on we read (p. 10): "Usury, then, is a claiming of interest upon an unproductive loan, or of interest greater than the real increment produced by a productive loan." And again (p. 10): "I must here reluctantly introduce a colloquial meaning of the word

'Usury' which confuses thought. People talk of 'usurious interest,' meaning very high interest . . . . but there is nothing in the rate of interest *per se* which renders such interest usurious. You may demand one hundred per cent. on a loan and be well within your moral rights." And finally (p. 11): "Strictly speaking, then, Usury has nothing to do with the amount of interest demanded, but with the point whether there is or is not produced by the capital invested an increment at least equal to the tribute demanded." No one can complain that Mr. Belloc has not laid down his position with admirable clearness; there can be no doubt as to what he means by the term usury.

But is his definition generally accepted by scholars? He is certainly right when he lays down that "strictly speaking" usury has nothing to do with the amount of interest demanded. Yet this is the popular or colloquial meaning of the term, and a meaning recognised and sanctioned by use in nearly all the civil codes and law-courts in Europe, including England.[1] But for all that, this cannot be regarded as the strict meaning of the term. But then neither can Mr. Belloc's definition. The people who can speak with most authority on this matter are the theologians and canonists of the Catholic Church, and viewed in the light of their teaching Mr. Belloc's definition is quite inaccurate. Mr. Belloc gives us no hint as to what body of scholars either supplied him with his definition or accept it; for it must be supposed that he is not arbitrarily laying down a meaning that is peculiar to himself. It is natural, therefore, for Catholics to assume that when Mr. Belloc wishes to use the term in its strict sense, he wishes to use it in the sense in which it has been used by Catholic theologians for centuries. That he

[1] See Vermeersch: *Theol. Mor.* (1928, Rome), Tom. 11, p. 431, for a summary of the chief usury prescriptions of the Codes of most of the European countries and the U.S.A. It is, also, a meaning recognised to some degree by canon law.—Cf. Cn. 1543.

has failed to do so is easily shown; and his failure has involved him in that very confusion of thought which he wished to avoid and which has led him into his strange views as to the Catholic discipline about usury. It has also led him into a further error: the error of thinking that the Catholic moral code ever condemned interest on unproductive loans merely because the loans were unproductive.[1] To him such a condemnation is an "obvious position in morals," "found in every great moral system sanctioned by the religious and permanent social philosophies adopted of men."

Interest, high or low, demanded for an unproductive loan is not usury merely because the loan is unproductive. Usury may be committed just as easily by demanding interest for a productive loan as by demanding it for an unproductive one. The productivity or the unproductivity of the loan does not enter at all into the essence of usury. Indeed not only is Mr. Belloc's definition false, but his statement on page 11 quoted above leads almost necessarily to a conclusion which is one of the propositions condemned by Benedict XIV in his Encyclical "*Vix pervenit*"[2] of 1st Nov. 1745: a condemnation re-affirmed for the universal Church as late as 1836 by Gregory XVI. For there it was clearly laid down that the sin or crime of usury was not avoided merely because the loan for which interest was demanded was a productive loan, spent usefully and profitably. Still more Mr. Belloc's idea that the point in usury is "whether there is or is not produced by the capital invested an increment at least equal to the tribute demanded," is completely out of touch with the whole mentality, the principles and arguments dealing with usury, of the great theologians and

[1] Cf. *Usury*, pp. 5 and 11.

[2] Denz. 1475. "Neque vero ad istam labem purgandam ullum arcessiri subsidium poterit vel ex eo, quod id lucrum non excedens et nimium sed moderatum, non magnum sed exiguum sit; vel ex eo, quod is a quo lucrum solius causa mutui deposcitur, non pauper sed dives exsistat, nec datam sibi mutuo summam relicturus otiosam, sed ad fortunas suas amplificandas vel novis coemendis praediis vel quaestuosis agitandis negotiis utilissime sit impensurus.

canonists of the Church. It might be too much to say that the question of the productivity or unproductivity of the loan never entered their heads. But if it did (and it is not easy to find any instance before the eighteenth century), then the fact that the loan was a productive one, used profitably and with gain by the borrower, was never admitted as a sufficient justification for demanding interest. On the contrary, this plea was expressly and definitely rejected; and interest demanded on that title alone was condemned as usury, and had to be given back to the borrower. "Any advantage or gain," writes St. Thomas Aquinas,[1] who is supposed by Mr. Belloc (p. 11) to be a supporter of his theory, "Any advantage or gain which accrues to the borrower from the money I lend him, beyond the actual amount of the loan, comes from the borrower's own industry in employing the money shrewdly. But it is not lawful for me to charge a man a price for his own industry, just as I should not be put to any loss by his want of skill [in employing the money.]"

This idea of trying to justify interest on loans by appealing to the productivity of the loan seems to have been first put forward by Nicholaus Broedersen, a canon of Maastricht or Delf, in his book *De Usuris licitis et illicitis*, published early in the 18th century. It was at once rejected by the theologians and canonists. Broedersen held that interest might be lawfully demanded on three conditions: (i) if the borrower was rich, (ii) if the interest was moderate, (iii) if the loan was productive: under these conditions the interest was not usury. S. Alphonsus Liguori, who was a contemporary of Broedersen, having quoted him by name and given his doctrine, writes: "This new opinion has rightly been condemned by the Supreme Pontiff"[2] [Benedict XIV.] In more recent times Claudio Jannet,[3] Professor of Economics at the Catholic

[1] III Sent. dist. XXXVII, art. 6, ad 4um.

[2] *Moral Theol.*, Lib. III.

[3] *Le Capital, la Spéculation et la Finance au XIX^e Siècle.* (Paris: 1892). c. 3, n. II and III, p. 88. Funk and, in quite modern times, Orel and others of the Vienna school also favour this view.

Institute in Paris, revived this theory of the distinction between *prêt à la consommation* and *prêt à la production* to explain the legitimacy of interest. That such a distinction exists and that it should be taken into account in some contracts no one denies. But it has no place in discussions on usury and on the only contract, lending and borrowing, in which usury can occur. It is certainly not sufficient by itself to explain why interest is sometimes usury and sometimes not usury.

Indeed, as Vermeersch[1] shows in rejecting Jannet's opinion, this theory cuts right across the fundamental principle of justice on which the whole School built up the doctrines of the just price and of usury. That principle is: that the advantage or gain of the buyer (or borrower) can never justly be reckoned as a sufficient reason for increasing the price (or charging interest on a loan). The advantage or gain which a borrower obtains from his use of the money, which I have really lent him, does not belong in justice to me, and consequently I cannot justly demand a price for it in the form of a share in the product of the loan[2] or in any other form. To do so would be strict usury. This is a matter of very considerable importance, on which readers of Mr. Belloc's pamphlet will be easily misled by his statements. He gives an example (pp. 10-11) of what he considers legitimate interest that would have made St. Thomas's hair stand on end. It is worth while giving in full :—

You may demand one hundred per cent. on a loan and be well

[1] *Quaest de Iustitia :* Qu. IX, n. 370 (Edit. 1901, p. 473).

[2] This is precisely what Aristotle wishes to condemn in *Pol.* I.-10-1258^{a}-38-1258^{b} 8. and in *Nic. Eth.* V. 6 : 1133^{a} 20-1131^{b}—not, as Mr. Belloc implies (p. 11), taking interest on unproductive loans. It is because " money of its nature does not breed money " that I am not allowed to charge merely for the loan of it : any productivity that arises cannot come from my money, but must come from the industry of the borrower. The Scholastics expressed Aristotle's idea by speaking of a *res fungibilis*, a thing that is consumed by its first use, and whose use therefore cannot be distinguished from the thing itself, and so cannot justly be charged for. (Cf. Cajetan's commentary on 2^{a}, 2^{ae}, qu. 78, art. 1. Leon. Edit. (1897), Tom. IX., p. 156). Aristotle's thought on this matter of money-breeding is frequently misrepresented.

within your rights. For instance, a small claim which was producing 500 ounces of gold a year has a sudden opportunity for producing 200 times as much, 100,000 ounces, if capital the equivalent of only 1,000 ounces can be obtained for development. The lender of that new capital is under no moral obligation to give all the vastly increased profits as a present to the borrower. He can legitimately claim his portion. He might well ask for half the new produce, that is 50,000 ounces per annum, 50 per cent. on his loan,[1] for that very high interest would only come to half the new wealth produced. To ask for that 50 per cent. would not be an exaction of tribute from wealth that was not present, nor for wealth that was not created by the capital invested.

Mr. Belloc is all through his essay speaking of usury and of lending and borrowing in the strict sense of these terms. It is necessary to be quite clear on that. For it is obvious that if the lender of the 1,000 ounces did not really *lend* the money but entered into partnership with the borrowing gold-miner, then they could arrange any terms they wished as regards the sharing of the subsequent profits. But in that case there would be (i) no contract of lending, but one of partnership; (ii) no strict interest, but a sharing of profits; (iii) no possibility of usury, which can only occur in a contract of strict lending. And so, in this case, Mr. Belloc's example would be completely irrelevant and serve only to confuse the issue. But we must assume that Mr. Belloc wishes to remain within the limits of the question he set out to discuss, and consequently that in his example the 1,000 ounces of gold were really *lent*. For the lender, then, to demand 50,000 ounces per annum as a charge for his loan purely and simply, and on no other title but that of the productivity of his 1,000 ounces, would be usury and nothing else. If the 1,000 ounces have been really lent, then that sum of money passes from the possession of the lender into the possession of the borrower; the lender ceases to be owner of it, the borrower becomes owner. But possessions both fructify

[1] "50 per cent." may be a misprint: 50,000 ozs. for 1,000 ozs. is not 50 per cent. but 5,000 per cent.

and perish for their owner and not for anybody else; the owner must bear all the risk of loss, and has a right to all the gain resulting from his industrious and shrewd employment of his own possessions. The only claim that arises for the lender of the 1,000 ounces from this loan-contract (for it is a true contract) is the claim to receive back within the stipulated time the exact sum of money that he lent, no more and no less. If he has any other claim (and under modern conditions he will nearly always have), then that claim is not, and cannot be, founded on the actual loan-contract itself nor on the productivity of the loan as used by the borrower, but must come from some extrinsic source or else from some completely different contract. While the contract remains a strict loan-contract, the lender cannot in justice demand any interest for the mere loan itself, no matter how productive the loan turns out to be for the borrower.[1] If on the other hand any extrinsic title is present, and nowadays there is nearly always one or more such titles, then the lender can quite justly demand the payment of a sum of money (over and above the sum lent) corresponding to that extrinsic title, no matter how unproductive the loan may be for the borrower; to do so is neither usury nor "unclean."[2]

Mr. Belloc's lender need not (and, if he were wise, would not) enter into a contract of lending at all. He would insist on a contract of partnership, with a greater or less share of the risks, or on some other type of contract which would give him the best advantage for his money. In modern times there are so many legitimate and just types of contract by which one can put one's money at the disposal of another and gain a share in the resulting profits that the strict loan-contract is comparatively seldom found. And where the strict loan-contract is not found, neither can usury be found; the two are essentially connected in so far as usury cannot take place

[1] This is the clear teaching of St. Thomas, Molina and modern theologians.

[2] *Usury*, p. 21.

outside this particular type of contract. Debentures (" the guaranteed interest on which is strictly Usury," according to Mr. Belloc) are not really a loan-contract at all; the money invested in a company remains the property of the investor, who is to some extent a sharer or part-owner of the business. He shoulders some of the risks, the remoter ones, but not all; he gets a title to some of the profits, but not to the same share as if he accepted all the risks. The interest on debentures is not " strictly usury," even when the business is being run at a loss.[1]

Mr. Belloc gives four authorities for his contention— " so obvious a position in morals "— that interest on an unproductive loan is usury, while that on a productive one is not (p. 11). These authorities are mentioned by name, but no reference to the written documents is given. They are Aristotle, St. Thomas, " the Mahommedan system of ethics," and " the luminous decision of the Fourth Lateran Council." On the question of the Mahommedans Mr. Belloc " has me beat,"—I have no opportunity of verifying his statement. The other three not only do not support his position, but either explicitly or implicitly reject it altogether. The *locus classicus* in Aristotle on this matter is in chapter 10 of the first book of the *Politics*.[2] Here Aristotle condemns all " wealth-getting . . . which consists in exchange " [retail trade] as " unnatural and a mode by which men gain from one another."

> The most hated sort, and with the greatest reason, is usury, which makes a gain out of money itself, and not from the natural object of it. For money was intended to be used in exchange.

[1] Another example or analogy given by Mr. Belloc (p. 10) is completely irrelevant, being the example of rent on a hire-contract, into which usury cannot enter. As for the example quoted on p. 16 from Mr. Orage, it merely shows how foolish and how immoral it is for people who borrow money not to establish a sinking fund to pay off the capital sum in a reasonable time. That the lender should suffer on account of the criminal improvidence of the borrower in not laying by in time of prosperity a sum towards reduction of debt is an extraordinary position to take up. Cf. what St. Thomas says on this in III. Sent. dist. 37, quoted on p. 290.

[2] Polit: 1258ᵃ-38 to 1258ᵇ-8. I quote from Jowett's translation.

but not to increase at interest. And this term interest, which means the birth of money from money, is applied to the breeding of money because the offspring resembles the parent. Wherefore of all modes of getting wealth this is the most unnatural.

Aristotle's position is that all such illiberal occupations as trade and commerce are unnatural; and it is quite obvious that he included lending money for productive purposes just as much as lending it for unproductive purposes in his condemnation, though he does not explicitly say anything about the purpose of the loan on which interest is taken. But developing his principle of "money being by nature barren," we are led to the doctrine of usury as held by the Scholastics. Money is just as barren in the hands of the borrower as in those of the lender: by itself it will not breed more money. If, therefore, a profit arises for the borrower, it must have some other origin than the money lent to him; it must come from his own skill and industry. But the lender has no right to demand payment for the borrower's skill and industry, nor a share in the produce resulting from that industry. He has a right to receive back his money—barren before, during and after its loan—and he has a right to nothing more. Such is Aristotle's position, which gives no support to Mr. Belloc's definition or contention.

As for St. Thomas, I have already (p. 290) shown his views with regard to the right of the lender to a share in the produce resulting from the borrower's use of the money. Molina[1] expresses the same views, and these views are again repeated by modern theologians such as Lehmkuhl[2] and Vermeersch.[3] None of them agrees with Mr. Belloc either in his definition of usury, or in his assertion that interest on an unproductive loan is necessarily usury, or in his implication that interest on a productive loan is not usury, precisely because the loan is productive.

The final authority given by Mr. Belloc is "the lumi-

[1] Tract. II., Disp. 343, n. 6 (Mogunt. Edit. 1641, Vol. II., p. 395).
[2] *Moral. Theol.*, Vol. I. (Edit. 1914), n. 1330, p. 768.
[3] *Quaest. de Iustitia* (1901), p. 473.

nous decision of the Fourth Lateran Council." "Fourth" may possibly be a *lapsus calami* for "Fifth"; for the Fourth Lateran Council (held in 1215) has, so far as I can discover, no decision whatever on the question of the nature or morality of usury. The only decree that touches usury is Canon 67,[1] which threatens to forbid Christians to borrow money from the Jews if the Jews continue to charge exorbitant interest (*graves et immoderatas usuras*). The Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517), held chiefly under Leo X, a Medici, who ought certainly to have been familiar with such matters, issued in its 10th session (1515) a decree (in the form of a Bull, *Inter multiplices*) on the Montes Pietatis and their connection with usury.[2] This Bull contains a well-known and "luminous" definition of usury, which though exact cannot claim the sanction or approval of either Council or Pope, because it only occurs in the Bull as coming from the adversaries of the Montes, and not as from the authors of the Bull. But it is worth quoting: "That is the true meaning of usury, when, namely, an endeavour is made to obtain gain or fruit—without labour, expense, or risk—from the use of a thing which is barren."[3] This is certainly not Mr. Belloc's definition. But the Bull goes on to say that it is lawful to take a small interest on loans issued by the Montes Pietatis in order to pay the running expenses of these charitable institutions.[4] Now it is a matter of history and was well-known to the Council that many of these loans were given for unproductive purposes, just as the

[1] Hefele-Leclercq (Paris, 1913), Tom. V., Pt. 2, p. 1385-6.

[2] Bullarium Romanum (Turin, 1860), Tom. V., p. 622-623. Denzinger gives (D. 739) portion of the Bull, but not this definition, because it has no official or authoritative approval; Hefele does not give the Bull at all.

[3] Ea est propria usurarum interpretatio, quando videlicet, ex usu rei quae non germinat, nullo labore, nullo sumptu, nullove periculo, lucrum fetusque conquiri studetur.

[4] The extrinsic title for this interest, which saved it from being usury, was the right of the owners not to suffer any loss by conferring a benefit on others—*damnum emergens*, as it is technically called. Leo X expressly states this in the Bull: "Quod qui commodum sentit, onus quoque sentire debeat, praesertim si apostolica accedat auctoritas."

loans issued by pawn-offices to-day are generally for purposes of consumption, not production. Mr. Belloc's case receives no support from either the Fourth or Fifth Lateran Council.

For the moment I am not concerned with the question of the social and economic evils of many of the financial institutions and transactions of the modern credit system; nor with trying to estimate how often or how much interest is paid on unproductive loans; nor with the titles which give me a moral right to take interest on any loans, productive or unproductive; nor with the nature, from a moral point of view, of various other contracts concerning the investment of money. I believe that our whole credit system needs a thorough but intelligently planned and carefully controlled overhauling. I agree to some extent with Mr. Belloc—but for quite different reasons—that the Great War Loans, if not "almost entirely usurious" or "a crying instance of usury," have certain features resembling the features of strict usury. But what I set out to show was, firstly, that the term "usury," however satisfying as a term of abuse to relieve one's feelings, has no place in a serious discussion of the evils of the modern system of interest. To profess to use the term in its strict sense in such a discussion can only confuse and lead people astray. Moreover, it involves one in very serious difficulties with regard to questions of sin and, for Catholics, of canon law. Secondly, I wanted to show that to Catholic moralists at least there was nothing "unclean" or immoral in taking interest on an unproductive loan, provided any one of the four or five extrinsic titles entitling me to that interest was present: a condition practically never absent in modern circumstances. Thirdly, that to take interest on a productive loan, merely because the loan was productive and on no other title, has been and is condemned by Catholic theologians as immoral.

E. J. Coyne

T

THE BATTLE ABOUT LOAN INTEREST [1]

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

NOW that Father Coyne has told the readers of STUDIES that a Homeric battle of wits is raging in Europe over the question of loan interest, it may be hoped he will inform us of the issues and the arguments. A bibliography of German works does not meet the needs of all of us. I must confess ignorance of the battle, and the English and French writings that have come my way have dealt with points that do not stir powerful emotions in a layman's breast. As I have seen the question of interest discussed by moral theologians, the legitimacy, necessity and beneficence of the modern system of loan interest have been accepted; the dispute has been on the basis of the reconciliation between the permission of interest and the prohibition of usury. Some have justified interest on the ground that money is normally lent to-day for purposes of production; others claim for money a quasi-fertility in modern conditions; others say that money represents capital, while the majority are content with the conclusion that the title of *lucrum cessans* can normally be allowed to lenders of money to-day. All this appears to a layman to be a purely domestic controversy between theologians and to have no more than academic importance, since the disputants are agreed on the conclusion that interest is right, and none of the rival arguments make a pennyworth of difference to the real world of borrowers and lenders. I am aware that one or two writers of reputation contend that interest in general is wrong. But my understanding was that these writers have few followers. My ignorance of the more recent discussions in the German countries is abysmal, and I only wish Father Coyne would give us more infor-

[1] [See issues of December and March.—Editor].

mation of any fundamental and practical controversy that is proceeding.

I emphasized in my article of last December that I was expressing only economic and not ethical views. My thesis is that interest on money loans is a major cause of the present collapse of world trade. I think it best not to offer any more precise definition, because my definition of interest would be exactly the same as St. Thomas's definition of usury and might raise ethical issues, which are not our present concern. It is enough to say I had in mind the four categories mentioned by Father Coyne: Government debts, local (municipal) loans, industrial debentures and bank deposits. Father Coyne understands me to be particularly opposed to interest paid on savings which are not invested in capital goods. He therefore very naturally desires to know whether "capital goods" includes such things as the preservation of law and order, the lighting of streets, etc. My answer is that I deny that interest is paid on capital goods or on investments in capital goods; interest is paid on loans of money and on nothing else in all the four categories already mentioned. It is therefore unnecessary to discuss what are capital goods beyond saying that money is not capital. A qualification to this statement may be that cash in the till or the bank needed for giving change or meeting current charges may be regarded as capital; but money borrowed and spent on docks, drains, street lamps, police barracks, etc., is not capital.

The lender doubtless thinks of the money lent as his capital and may regard his capital as intact so long as he is receiving regularly the interest contracted for. Or he may regard the bonds he holds as his capital. But the only capital is the drains, street lamps or other goods on which the money was spent. The money is not capital after it is spent. When money is spent it is finished, consumed, used up. Bonds are merely documentary evidence of titles to income and other

property. Money has indeed been invested in capital goods, docks, drains, or what not, but it has been thus invested by the borrower not the lender. The borrower may or may not receive a money income from his capital. If it is a dock he will probably hope for money income, if it is a drain he will value it for its utility of a non-pecuniary kind. Now the interest payable to the lender does not depend on the profitableness of a dock or the utility of a drain or the productivity of capital goods in any shape or form. Profitableness, utility and productivity may fail; but the obligation to pay interest remains, for it is contracted to be paid on a certain sum of money. Interest, I repeat, is paid on loans of money and nothing else. It is not paid on real capital. This is why it proves so economically mischievous, that it is a charge on capital independent of productivity.

It is here that I join issue with Father Coyne, and our difference will be clearest when we consider debentures; but I shall follow his order and deal first with bank deposits. On this point I fear I failed to make my argument clear. I had been concerned to show that the saving of money did not necessarily mean investment in capital goods, that interest could be obtained by savings of money without investment in capital goods, and bank deposits were examples of such savings. I pointed out that the possibility of getting interest on money without investing it in capital was socially undesirable in times of bad trade such as the present, and I argued with Mr. Keynes that interest on bank deposits should be lowered, even abolished, when trade is depressed. I am glad to see that the banks are now acting on this policy; the deposit rate, as I write, is reduced in London to ½ per cent. per annum and the financial journalists are approving the reduction as one calculated to drive money into trade. Looking at the point about bank deposit in this perspective, there is no need to dwell on the "fixity" of interest in relation to them. I content myself with a

caveat against Father Coyne's repeated references to bank money producing wealth. It is essential to remember that banks can make profits on their money without producing wealth, directly or indirectly. Not all bank loans are for productive purposes.

Now we come to the crucial question of debentures. "No one will deny," says Father Coyne, "that debentures represent 'capital goods' engaged in production in some form or other." This is just what I do deny. I maintain that debentures represent nothing but obligations to pay interest and principal of money loans. The borrowed money may have been most usefully and profitably employed to purchase capital goods engaged in production. But the debenture holder does not own these capital goods; he does not base his claim to interest on the productivity of these capital goods; the capital goods may become unproductive and valueless, but the debenture holder does not abate his claims to interest and the repayment of principal. True, many a debtor becomes a defaulter and debenture holders are frequently invited to waive their contractual rights and in practice have no alternative but to waive them. This does not alter the fact that debentures represent only the rights and obligations arising from loans of money, and it is totally inaccurate to say they represent capital goods. A debenture represents a debt, and it is not at all necessary that the debt should be balanced by an asset.

The arguments that Father Coyne advances for debentures are extremely unconvincing. It is socially desirable, he says, that large sections of the community should have a steady, stable flow of purchasing power, and the fixity of debenture interest (he implies) contributes to that steadiness of purchasing power. Now it is impossible, from the nature of the case, for debenture-holders to represent more than a small part, I will not say of the community, but of the investing classes. For debentures are prior charges, and if they did not have larger amounts

of share capital ranking behind them they would have no more prospect than share capital of steadiness of income. Moreover, as the total distributions of a company are likely to be much the same whatever the composition of its liabilities on capital account, the steadiness of debenture income causes greater unsteadiness of share dividends. Finally, the advantages of debentures which Father Coyne desiderates can be obtained by means of preference shares, which yield profits and are free from the objections applying to interest-bearing securities.

It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good, and an opponent of interest need not assert that debentures have no advantages for anybody, but they may be condemned with the less reserve because alternative forms of financing industry are ready to hand. The same cannot be said of loans for municipal development. We should be confronted with novel tasks if we decided to prohibit municipal loans at interest. How we might solve the problem I shall not pause to inquire, but the general argument against interest applies to municipal loans as to others. The same is to be said of the National Debt; and to keep the issue clear, I may remark that I do not bring any special argument against War Debt.

Father Coyne, in his effort to exonerate interest from the charge of being responsible for the world trade collapse, puts the blame on England's return to the Gold Standard in 1925. He says: "Everybody admits that in 1925 the £ by the return to the Gold Standard became more valuable than it was in 1918-23; it rose in value (as measured in gold, foreign currencies, or real wealth) from perhaps 16s. to 20s." Instead of everybody admitting this, everybody would deny it. The period 1918-23 is an impossible basis for comparison, for during that period there were the most extreme fluctuations. The Board of Trade index number for wholesale prices in 1920 was 307.3 and in 1923 it was 158.9. The return to the Gold Standard in 1925 could not have caused this

appreciation of the £. Wholesale prices were actually higher in 1925 when the £ was on gold than in 1922 and 1923 when it was off. Taking the year 1924 as a starting point with the index number at 100, there was a decline to 95 in 1925, to 90 in 1926 and to 85 in 1927 and 1928. But as prices were also falling in countries that had never abandoned the Gold Standard, the fall cannot be attributed to Britain's monetary policy. There is absolutely no ground for the statement that real incomes were suddenly and artificially varied in 1924-25. Wholesale prices were almost exactly the same in 1925 as they had been in 1923. Retail prices, as shown by the cost of living index, were remarkably stable, being 169 in 1923, 170 in 1924, and 171 in 1925. The figures referred to can be found in the Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom.

The world trade depression did not begin till 1929. It is true that prices began to fall somewhere about 1925 when Britain returned to the Gold Standard, but it was quite a moderate decline until 1929. In three years from the end of December 1925 to 1928 the fall was about 12 per cent. In the seventeen months from December 1928 to May 1930 the fall was 15 per cent. Since then the decline has been swifter and steeper. Doubtless the general return of the world to the Gold Standard after 1925 has had much to do with price movements and something to do with the world slump in 1929, but nothing can be attributed to the British " wage-earning class and other receivers of fixed income finding themselves suddenly in 1925 with a larger effective purchasing power at their disposal," for the simple reason that the classes mentioned had no such luck. The figures as to cost of living already quoted make this plain.

All that we know is that a downward price movement started about 1925 throughout the world, and it degenerated into a slump in 1929. No economist claims to have exact knowledge of the causes. Since the world generally was on the Gold Standard during most of the

period, the price-fall was not due to deliberate currency changes. My point is that the price-fall having taken place, so that prices were out of equilibrium with costs, interest was the main obstacle to the reduction of costs and the restoration of equilibrium. Profits could be and were reduced, wages and salaries could be and were reduced, and would have been adjusted more easily if the rigidity of interest had not made the workers feel that the reduction of their earnings was inequitable. It is inaccurate to say that interest can be changed by conversions or repayment. The debtors have not the money to repay, and conversions to a lower rate of interest can only be made when repayment is possible. Sometimes repayment would not be accepted by creditors until the end of a period fixed by contract.

The particular argument I have urged against interest has force only because prices change. If the stability of the purchasing power of money could be secured, my present argument against interest would be irrelevant. But we know that prices do change, and there is no known way of securing stability of purchasing power. Therefore the rigidity of interest—which is due to its independence of productivity, which is only another way of saying that interest is paid on money and not capital—must always cause economic mischief, a mischief that cannot arise when capital enterprises are financed by partner-proprietors, *i.e.*, shareholders, as approved by the Canonists, and not by moneylenders, *i.e.*, bondholders, as condemned by the Canonists. Though I am not urging any ethical thesis, I am conscious that if the economic case against interest is proved, it must cause moralists to revise their attitude. An authority so highly esteemed as Dr. Cronin has committed himself to the following: "Money now is capital, it is productive, *for it can be turned into capital* at any moment, by the simplest of processes, and at no cost."[1] The strict logic of this statement was never

[1] *The Science of Ethics*, vol. II. (1917), p. 332.

quite satisfying, for if money is capital how can it be turned into capital? But this is a merely verbal point. The important matter is the alleged "no cost" of turning money into capital. Turning money into capital has proved enormously costly for most of those who have done it during the last decade. This cost has been escaped by those who have merely saved or lent money. A man who turns his money into capital gets what the capital produces, be the product positive or negative. A man who lends his money to somebody else who turns it into capital claims his positive interest though the product of the capital be negative. What do we see in the world to-day? The value of money appreciating monstrously and the value of real capital depreciating ruinously! Last April the Financial Committee of the League of Nations issued a report on Austria, Bulgaria, Greece and Hungary. I may quote the summary of the City Editor of the *Morning Post* on April 5:—

> In recent months many extra-European countries have failed to meet their coupons, and in many of these instances it is maintained, failures are not to be sought in defects in internal administration or policy. They have one and all been affected by the great collapse in world prices. Wholesale prices of raw materials and foodstuffs (in gold) have, it is pointed out, fallen since 1928 by approximately 40 per cent., and, in consequence, the burden of fixed charges on producers of these goods has increased by some 70 per cent. Thus, to pay in commodities (formerly worth 100 units) a fixed charge of 100 gold units, they have to part with about 170 units of commodities. A striking example of these difficulties, according to the report of the League Financial Committee, is afforded by Bulgaria, whose weight of exports increased by 80 per cent. in 1930, while their value dropped by 3 per cent. In 1931 the weight was again increased by 40 per cent., while the value again dropped by some 4 per cent.

In face of this difference between the fortunes of the owners of money-claims and the owners of capital goods it is surely no longer possible for anyone to maintain that money is capital! True that the lenders seem likely soon to be as poor as the borrowers, for defaults have become the order of the day. The first big failures were

in governmental obligations, and they have been followed by "standstill" in the liquidation of ordinary commercial debts. There are cases where Governments actually forbid their nationals to meet obligations to foreigners if this involves purchasing foreign exchange.

I said in my STUDIES article of last December that the whole system of international loans was more than half in ruins. I can now say it is almost all in ruins, and it is certain that a breakdown in the system of internal or domestic loans will only be avoided if there is a revision of contracts. I hear among responsible business men of the impossibility of meeting debenture charges contracted a few years ago, and leading politicians tell me that when Britain has expressed her views to the United States about War Debt, the Government will take the question of domestic loan obligations in hand unless the problem solves itself by the operation of "reflation." Not much is said about this in public as yet, but an editorial article in the *Statist*, May 7, 1932, is to the point :—

> It is very doubtful whether the reduction in the fixed interest burden which can feasibly be expected from the normal occurrence and utilisation of opportunities for conversion will suffice to meet the needs of our greatly reduced national income. It is not merely a question of the Government debt, but of all fixed interest-bearing debts such as debenture charges, mortgages, rents, etc., whose burden may well become intolerable if the present falling tendency in the national income continues.

The *Statist* speaks from the standpoint of practical finance. Recent numbers of the *Economic Journal* will show that the leading organ of economic science in England is opening its pages to critics of the modern theory of interest, and Mr. J. M. Keynes in his study of the world's economic troubles declares himself as coming to believe that interest is the villain of the piece. My humble function is to let the modern world and the modern economists know that our medieval ancestors would be entitled to say "We told you so!"

HENRY SOMERVILLE

REVIEWS

Religion

JESUS CHRIST. HIS PERSON, HIS MESSAGE, HIS CREDENTIALS. By Léonce de Grandmaison, S.J. (Edited by Jules Lebreton, S.J.). Two volumes. London: Sheed and Ward. 1931-2. 12s. 6d. each.

LA VIE ET L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE JESUS CHRIST NOTRE SEIGNEUR. By Jules Lebreton, S.J. Two volumes. Paris: Beauchesne. 1931. 60 fr.

THAT the author of one of these works on our Divine Lord should be the editor of the other[1] would be enough of itself to indicate that there could not be, to any noteworthy extent, overlapping or borrowing. A cursory examination of the two works confirms this *prima facie* indication. The two works are, indeed, entirely different. Different, first, in scope and aim. In both the central figure is Christ our Lord, but Père Lebreton aims chiefly at drawing an historic portrait whereby Christians may be the better-enabled to attain the ideal set forth in those words: "This is life eternal that they may know thee the one true God and him whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ." Whereas the aim of Père de Grandmaison is to vindicate in the eyes of all, believers and, perhaps still more, unbelievers, the human and divine character of our Saviour.

This diversity of aim has resulted in a difference of approach and of treatment. The earlier work is really a systematic treatise on Christology, though cast in a thoroughly modern rather than a scholastic form. Book I of this work is devoted to an exhaustive and critical examination of the sources from which is derived our knowledge of the life of Christ. This is followed by a study of the political, social, and intellectual milieu in which that life was cast. The third book deals with our Lord's message to mankind. And it is not till the beginning of the fourth book that the reader finds himself confronted with our Lord in person, His witness to Himself and His personality. Finally we are presented with an outline of the efforts all down the ages of those who do not believe to solve the problem and fathom the mystery of Christ. Père Lebreton's approach is naturally quite different. His starting point is the text of the Gospels as they have come down to us, and on these he brings to bear all the light afforded by the whole of the Sacred Scriptures as historical documents and by contemporary writings, in order to set before us a *history* of Christ and to make the historical Christ live for us. So that, after a

[1] Père de Grandmaison died without knowing whether this work, which was his life-work, would see the light. It first appeared in 1928.

brief introduction, the order of Père Lebreton's book is the order of the events in the life which he is writing.

Again the two writers have brought to bear upon their subject a different world, as it were, of learning and of thought. Both, no doubt, have a firm grasp of the frame-work of scholastic Christology, both have read widely in the modern literature concerning our Lord; but, whereas Père Lebreton, author of that outstanding work *Histoire du Dogme de la Trinité*, has devoted himself more particularly to Scripture in its theological bearings, to the study of Christian origins, and to patrology, Père de Grandmaison has explored the literature of comparative religion and shows an astonishing familiarity with the works of writers of every school of thought. He knows, for instance, the modernists thoroughly, and can not only follow the subtlest windings of their thought in order to point out just where it deviates from truth, but on occasion he can quote Renan or Loisy or Sabatier with approval just where they are right. He has read all the best of the Anglican writers and uses their conclusions. He is equally at home in the German literature of his subject, at once so painstakingly erudite and so speculative, ever ready to weave a new theory out of the most tenuous materials. It is no part of his purpose to refute and confound these opponents. He goes with them as far as he can; he parts from them with regret. At all events, before discussing their views he is at pains to understand them.

A further point of difference between the two books is the contrast in their style. Père de Grandmaison's is subtle, delicately *nuancé*, occasionally involved, sometimes, but rarely, obscure, always charged with significance. Père Lebreton's is a plain clear narrative, little interrupted by the discussion of controverted points. They have indeed this in common that, rather than allow their text to be overloaded and clogged by their erudition, they have relegated much of that erudition to footnotes or to brief discussions at the end of chapters. This is a gain for the average reader and no loss to the scholar.

It would be impossible in a short review to dwell at length upon the various excellences of these two almost equally remarkable works. In Père Lebreton's work the reviewer has been much impressed by his treatment of the Passion of our Lord and in particular of the Agony in the Garden. On this the author has brought to bear light from an astonishing variety of sources. Note, too, his interesting study of the characters of the different Apostles (I. pp. 154-165), his discussion of the Parables in general

(I. ch. vii.), his long and detailed account (II. ch. vi.) of the Last Supper and the Institution of the Blessed Eucharist. Père Lebreton is never either colourful or dramatic : he has no purple patches, and but little eloquence. He seldom moralizes, but allows the deeds and the words of our Lord to speak for themselves. He is of the school of Lepin and Fillion rather than of Didon or Ollivier or even of his fellow-Jesuit, Archbishop Goodier.

A word of gratitude is due to those who have co-operated in giving us the work of Père de Grandmaison in English. The author's style is very difficult and the translation of the first volume is not all that it might be. I am happy to be able to say that the translation of the second is admirable. And the book itself, as publishers and printers have produced it, is a joy to handle and to read. S. J. B.

LA DOCTRINE ASCETIQUE DES PREMIERS MAITRES EGYPTIENS DU QUATRIEME SIECLE. Par P. Resch, Marianiste, Docteur en théologie. Paris : Beauchesne. 1931 Pp. xxxviii + 286. 32 fr.

Thanks to the scholarly work of Abbot Butler, Mgr. Ladeuze, Preuschen and others, the development of Christian monasticism in Egypt has become familiar to the present generation. It was but natural, once this point had been reached, that particular aspects of the monastic institution should claim the attention of students. In the book before us the author breaks new ground by attempting a systematic survey of fourth century Egyptian teaching on the cultivation of the spiritual life. He brings to his difficult task high gifts of industry, method and good sense. Some, no doubt, will regret his decision to limit the scope of his study to the writings of the monastic leaders : St. Anthony, St. Athanasius, St. Macarius, St. Pachomius and the two successors of the last-mentioned in the government of the Tabennisi brotherhood, Orsiesius and Theodore. Others, again, may question his wisdom in leaving certain problems untouched, when, as he freely admits, the *lacunae* could have been filled from the treatises of the great fifth century propagator of monastic asceticism, John Cassian.

In what relation did the Egyptian Fathers stand to the Christian ascetics of the first three centuries ? Père Resch makes it evident that the connection was most intimate. Principles were transmitted from the earlier to the later period without the least change, though the external forms in which they found expression showed a measure of diversity. Thus the abandonment of worldly goods becomes in Egypt much more complete ; the conveniences of

civilization are more openly spurned; the Holy Scriptures are made the object of lifelong and affectionate study; union with God by well-nigh uninterrupted contemplation ceases to be an unrealized dream. The austerities practised are those of the early centuries, but the more primitive conditions of the desert allow greater freedom in their use. For the pitiless rigours of the ascetical life there is, now as formerly, the compensating certainty of eternal rewards. The memory of the Passion continues to excite heroic courage, and the desire for martyrdom remains intense.

In the first centuries virginity had been the pivot on which all asceticism turned. Among the Egyptian Fathers its place was much less prominent, the tendency rather being to treat it as a postulate. The stress fell, therefore, on other virtues like poverty, humility, recollection, mortification. It is interesting, too, to note how the deeper layers of human nature were probed and a rudimentary, but useful, psychology evolved which helped much in the struggle against evil. Experience likewise showed the value of solitude, prudent spiritual direction, mutual edification, regular examination of conscience and fixed hours for prayer. Thus there was much progress in the science of the spirit.

Père Resch is careful to point out that in the fourth century this science remained within limits that were comparatively restricted. Methods of prayer, of self-examination, of direction, were somewhat elementary; nor was it realized what a marvellous part the Holy Eucharist could play in strengthening the divine life of the soul. Calvary overshadowed Bethlehem and Nazareth, the consequence being that devotion to Our Lady is little in evidence, though at this very period, in the adjoining land of Syria, the deacon St. Ephraem was singing her glories in songs of exquisite tenderness. The missionary spirit, too, might have been cultivated with more enthusiasm. True it is that St. Anthony and others helped, on occasion, to convert the pagans near their settlements; but such activities were quite exceptional.

Some excellent pages deal with the role of St. Athanasius in furthering the science of the spirit among the ascetics. From him they received instruction on faith, virginity, mortification, the Scriptures, prayer, the sublimity of the Eucharist, the imitation of Christ. "It is thanks to St. Athanasius that the asceticism of the fourth century harmonizes so perfectly with that of the preceding centuries, and thanks to him beyond all others that it remained consistently within the bounds of perfect orthodoxy."

Père Resch, in conclusion, shows that, however emaciated the features and however bizarre the dress of the Egyptian monks,

they were men pre-eminently sane and human in their outlook. All the queer characters of the fifth century certainly did not stay in the world ; a few made their way to the desert, which they entertained by their extravagances. To judge all by these is manifestly unjust. Among the real heroes of the desert moderation was a characteristic virtue. To have made this clear is not the least merit of Père Resch's able and stimulating book. J. R.

THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. A Treatise on Ascetical and Mystical Theology. By Rev. Adolphe Tanquerey, S.S., D.D. Translated by Rev. Herman Branderis, S.S., A.M. Tournai : Desclée. 1930. 800 pp. Cloth. 10s.

Father Branderis of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, is to be congratulated on a very capable translation of Father Tanquerey's *Précis de théologie ascétique et mystique*, which appeared in two volumes in 1923-24 and has already been translated into eight European languages. The sale of eighty thousand copies in six years shows how this work has been appreciated by the Catholic world. This English version will bring this invaluable work before the large public of the English-speaking peoples, who, as a rule, have scant knowledge of foreign tongues. In its new dress it should find an honoured place on the shelves of our convent and sodality libraries ; for although it is primarily a *vade-mecum* for the spiritual director, even the layman in the world, not to speak of religious seeking perfection, will find it an invaluable guide in all that appertains to the true life of the soul.

As far as the present reviewer can judge, and his reading in these things is fairly wide, this book of Father Tanquerey is the best manual we have at present, the most complete and practical. Its tone, while not lacking unction, is studiously moderate and judicious, keeping an even keel in all the controverted questions, and before all things practical and prudent. It is singularly complete in its matter, giving all that is ordinarily needed. The director of advanced contemplatives might possibly require to supplement it, but he is told where to look for the information.

The chapter on controverted questions at the end of the book will interest those who, like the present reviewer, are merely students of spirituality on its speculative side and who have not to concern themselves with practical problems of direction. Father Tanquerey reduces the points of present-day discussion to three :—(1) the *nature* of infused contemplation, (2) the *universal call* thereto, (3) the *normal time* at which it begins. We cannot but admire the prudence of his solutions in Nos. (2) and (3) ; but

these are questions rather of direction and must be left to more competent persons to judge. The highly speculative question as to the precise psychological nature of obscure contemplation remains; and I do not think it has been solved by Father Tanquerey, because the two theories he sets forth are not a true dichotomy. Saudreau and Poulain are not logical contradictories but rather contraries. The trouble comes from the "theologian's complex," the almost irresistible sub-conscious urge to get rid of the *analogia entis* as far as orthodoxy will permit. How explain the essential obscurity of mystical contemplation, which Dionysius calls the Agnosia, that "Cloud of Unknowing" wherein is the true Gnosis, the highest apprehension of the Numinous, the Divine, granted to the Christian wayfarer? This essential obscurity is the bugbear of the speculative theologian. How can we have a knowledge which can only be truly described as an "unknowing"? Is the "unknowing" element in the mystic's experience a mere negation, a non-entity, a pure failure to grasp the intelligible on account of its excess *qua* intelligible, or is this "unknowing" the essential mode of the wayfarer's intelligence when divinely enlightened to apprehend the Divine within? "The Light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it."

If we shirk the difficulty of framing some theory of this "Unknowing," which is a true Gnosis, we are thrown back on the absurdity of an attenuated Beatific Vision, or we have to reduce Mystical Experience to the conceptual level and so be forced to postulate "infused species" or leave the gate wide open to Leuba and Co. It is a terrible and subtle question, still outstanding.

JOHN HOWLEY.

THE BOOKS OF THE LATIN LITURGY. By The Right Rev. Abbot Cabrol, O.S.B. (Catholic Library of Religious Knowledge, XXII). London: Sands. 1932. Pp. xi. and 166. 3s. 6d. net.

As an introduction to liturgical science, at least in its Western form, this small book leaves little to be desired. Abbot Cabrol's name is a guarantee that the knowledge imparted is up-to-date and absolutely reliable. Every technical term used is sufficiently explained, so that a reader to whom the subject is quite new, can follow the exposition from beginning to end without excessive effort. Those, on the other hand, who are well versed in matters liturgical, will be rewarded in their perusal of the book by more than one judicious comment on questions that are still open to controversy.

Abbot Cabrol's first chapter on definitions is evidently written with an eye to librarians and archivists, who have often in the past been exceedingly hazy in their notions of how a newly discovered liturgical manuscript should be classified. Our Irish "Antiphonary of Bangor" is a case in point, for the experts are agreed that *antiphonarium* is not the correct title, though far from unanimous in their views as to what the title should be. It must, of course, be conceded that this precious relic from the ancient monastery at Bangor is not a simple, straightforward, liturgical manuscript. In ordinary circumstances no librarian worth his salt should have any difficulty in deciding what is an *antiphonarium*, what a *troparium*, what a *missale*, what a *graduale*, what a *hymnarium*, what a *bibliothecum;* and so on.

A bird's eye view is given of the development of the liturgy in the West from the first to the sixth centuries. Some thorny problems here present themselves, and we could have wished that Abbot Cabrol had dealt with them more fully, even in a book mainly practical in its appeal. The chief surviving monuments of the various Western rites—Roman, Ambrosian, Mozarabic, Gallican and Celtic—are treated of in greater detail. In this connection the author does well to insist that the term "Celtic Liturgy" is misleading, since the Celts, whether of Ireland or of Britain, did not construct or compile a distinct liturgy of their own. They were, however, eclectic in their tastes and did not hesitate to add from other sources a formula here or a rite there to the Gallican or Roman liturgy which they had adopted generally for use in their churches. "Only in the domain of private prayer does Celtic originality appear, and there Celtic piety has free course." In this department, then, the genius of our ancestors in things religious finds its most characteristic expression.

An excellent bibliography is attached to each of the twelve chapters, and the book is attractively produced at a very moderate price.

J. R.

THE SCHOOL OF JESUS CHRIST. By Père Grou, S.J. Translated by Mrs. Rodolph Stawell. With an Introduction by Dom Roger Hudleston. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1932. 10s. 6d.

THERE are a certain number of writers on spiritual, as indeed on all other subjects, whose names are known to all those interested in spiritual matters, and whose works by universal consent are ranked amongst the classics—but, unhappily, they are little read. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that this unenviable distinction

has fallen to the lot of Père Grou, a writer certainly deserving of a kinder destiny. Hence, one cannot but welcome heartily these new English translations of his writings which we owe (apparently) to the zeal and industry of Dom Roger Hudleston. The present volume is the first of a proposed series ; it is to be followed shortly by one entitled " Morality extracted from the Confessions of St. Austin," and later—" if the reception given to these volumes justifies the venture "—by translations of the remaining spiritual writings of Père Grou which have not as yet appeared in English.

This book, *The School of Jesus Christ*, was written about the year 1794 at Lulworth Castle, Dorset, the seat of the Weld family, where Père Grou was then living the life of an exile and almost of a hermit. He was at the time a man of over sixty ; his style had attained maturity, and his spirit had been purified and refined by severe physical sufferings. The book was not published in the original French until 1885, when it appeared at Paris, though an English translation of the first volume only was printed at Dublin in 1801. The editor of the French edition, Père Doyotte, S.J., claims for the book that " it is, without any possible doubt, the most important of Père Grou's works ; the most remarkable for the depth of the subject matter, as it is also the most useful and necessary both for the period when he wrote it and for our own day."

The School of Jesus Christ is not, as the title might perhaps lead one to suppose, a systematic treatise on the spiritual life after the manner of Rodriguez or Scaramelli. It consists of a series of " lessons," rather loosely knit together, on various spiritual topics : one might fairly describe them as Père Grou's meditations on the fundamental principles of Christianity. The book is singularly deep and earnest, and its pages are transfused in a high degree with that indefinable quality which we call " unction " ; that eager, peaceful other-worldliness which is the atmosphere of the saints. Dom Hudleston prefixes an interesting introduction. Mrs. Stawell's translation is adequate and unobtrusive—which is high praise. D. D.

Biography

FREDERICK THE SECOND (1194-1250). By Ernst Kantorowicz. Authorised English Version by E. O. Lorimer. London : Constable. 1931. 27s.

Seinen Kaisern und Helden das geheime Deutschland. That inscription was fixed to a wreath which some German patriot

laid on the sarcophagus of the Emperor Frederick II in the Cathedral of Palermo eight years ago. It was the year of the seven-hundredth anniversary of the University of Naples—a University which, in its strictly national purpose, stands from the first in marked contrast with the older *Universitates* of the Catholic world. And the contrast is not accidental. For Frederick II, great dreamer though he was of universal power, is one of the founders of the modern world with its individualism and nationalism. *Der erste moderne Mensch:* so Jakob Burckhardt named him two generations ago, seeing in his court at Palermo, as Dante had seen, the first dawn of a new Italian nationalism, the prelude to Italy's Renaissance of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Yet, like Dante himself, Frederick is of the Middle Ages, to which he belongs. And Professor Kantorowicz has written a book which sets the reader dreaming of all that Europe dreamt in those great days of dreamers and doers.

Frederick's childhood is itself a fascination. The son of Henry VI, who had come nearer than any other German Emperor to the Universal Empire for which Dante yearned, Frederick grew to manhood in the years which followed Henry's sudden death. Innocent III was Pope, and for the moment it was the Pope, not the Emperor, who ruled Europe, in things temporal hardly less than in things spiritual. A challenge to Innocent's claims was due; but it is one of history's chief ironies that the challenge should have come from the young boy—*Puer Apuliae*—for whom Innocent toiled so manfully to preserve intact the Kingdom of Sicily and his mother's inheritance. Whilst Innocent was toiling at the helm of state, young Frederick was running almost unheeded through the streets of Palermo, mingling freely in the life of a city where Greek and Italian, Jew and Christian and Saracen, met (as nowhere else in Europe) on equal terms. And from those early years of undisciplined childhood there grew to manhood an Emperor whose friendships were for Jew and Saracen as spontaneously as for his fellow-Christians of Italy or Germany; and whose home, from first to last, was the Palermo of his childhood.

But the child, and later the man, was a dreamer like all the great rulers of the Middle Ages; and Frederick's dream of an Empire that should be universal in fact as well as in theory, to which Popes should owe allegiance no less real than the allegiance of the lowest vassal of the Empire, was bound to lead to a renewal of the conflict between the Hohenstaufen and Innocent's successors. Had that conflict been a straightforward duel between a ruler who denied the Pope's spiritual claims and each succeeding Pope

who asserted those claims, the story would have been more intelligible to a modern reader. But Frederick was, in name at least, a Catholic; and his first action on the day of his coronation over the tomb of his great predecessor Charles at Aachen was to take the cross and to vow a crusade. It was an action that he must have rued through all the struggle that followed; and it certainly gave his opponents, Honorius II, Gregory IX and Innocent IV, an unequalled opportunity of denouncing the forsworn Emperor. When the crusade came at last, Frederick set out for Jerusalem an excommunicate Emperor. His successes are due to the freedom from all scruple with which he, who could speak Arabic from childhood and who well understood the Moslem mind, bargained in high diplomacy with Saladin's successor.

At home in Italy Frederick set himself to build up a state which is, in its essential forms, the parent of modern nationalism. Centralised and rationalised, to use our modern phrases, Frederick's kingdom was the wonder—and to many the monster—of his age. Feudalism, which had come near to sinking his kingdom in anarchy when Frederick was a child, is forced into the bonds of a highly organised national kingdom. Even marriage with strangers is forbidden by law: yet another challenge to the Catholic concept of a universal Christian brotherhood. And Frederick was so far successful in his purpose of separating his subjects from the outside world in national sentiment that, when after his death Sicily rose in revolt against the Frenchman, Charles of Anjou, the Sicilian Vespers count among their other horrors the fact that women known to be pregnant of French children had their wombs ripped open that the foreign brood might be trampled underfoot.

Contrast follows contrast. This same Frederick, who sets himself so harshly against the brotherhood of Christians in a world that feels the bonds of union in faith and love, is himself a dreamer of unity that shall transcend the diversity of nations. A scholar and a scientist, a poet and a philosopher, Frederick is the most gifted figure of his day; and no mediaeval thinker could resist the ideal of One transcending the base multitude of Many. This is the dream that gives a strangely perverted idealism to Frederick's laws and constitutions, in which the technical skill of Piero della Vigna helps the Emperor's idea. In the end a stage is reached in the conflict, where Pope denounces Emperor as the Beast of the Apocalypse, and Emperor denounces Pope as the enemy and corrupter of Christendom. Saints were ruling kingdoms whilst this duel was being fought out in Italy: Saint

Louis in France and Saint Ferdinand in Castille. And in Naples a young boy was growing to manhood as a student, Thomas de Aquino, who was getting his first lessons at the University of Naples from Petrus de Hibernia, his first tutor in metaphysics and natural philosophy.

Small wonder that this thirteenth century is still a problem to the modern scholar. Professor Kantorowicz is a German who writes brilliantly, and who has evidently a wide and thorough knowledge of the sources from which the scholars of the past two generations have reconstructed the history of Frederick's work. For him Frederick is the prophet of the future, the forerunner of the modern world, the dreamer of a greatness which is yet to be, which perchance can only be accomplished by a German Kaiser. It is all very modern and very "tendencious." Yet it is also very mediaeval. For the Middle Ages were full of strife and full of effort, painfully struggling for a unity that in this world can never be fulfilled. A. G.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By Ulrich Wilcken. Translated by G. C. Richards. London : Chatto and Windus. 1932. 15s. net.

JULIUS CAESAR. By John Buchan. London : Peter Davies. 1932. 5s. net.

THE appearance in an English translation of Professor Wilcken's valuable work is greatly to be welcomed. Although the *Cambridge Ancient History* has in recent years provided us with an up-to-date and masterly account of one of the world's greatest figures, there still remains ample room on our historical shelves for a study so comprehensive, sympathetic, and intelligent as this. Professor Wilcken, who has succeeded to Eduard Meyer's chair of Ancient History at Berlin, has long been renowned as one of the world's foremost authorities on papyrology and on the life of Hellenistic Egypt. His work on Alexander shows him to be in every respect worthy of his great predecessor. Not only on the astounding career of the great conqueror himself, but on the Greece of the fourth century B.C., and on the character and civilisation of the monarchies of the third and second, he is able to give us a series of masterly general judgments, to the formation of which his prolonged familiarity with the sources and his own separate researches have markedly contributed. Alexander, more perhaps than any other single person, was the architect of our occidental world-civilisation. Professor Wilcken puts before

us in full detail all that historical science can discover of his personality, as well as showing us clearly the environment in which he worked and the permanent results of what he accomplished.

As is well-known, there are, and have been since his own time, two views about Alexander's character. The one, which goes back to the romantic historiographer Cleitarchus, represents him as a sort of wonder-worker, whose whole life is a succession of rather erratic and irrational marvels. It is a perversion of this view, which we find in the *Life* by Quintus Curtius, seen through modern democratic or liberal spectacles, that gives us the tyrannic Alexander of Grote, the ender of Greek liberty. The other view, which goes back to the diaries of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, and is mainly represented by Arrian, shows us a reasonable human figure, great indeed, but not so great as to have become mythical. Modern historians have tended more and more to eliminate the miraculous and irrational from the figure of Alexander. Professor Wilcken does not go so far in this direction as does, for instance, the English scholar, Tarn. He still accepts the reality of the memoirs attributed to Alexander, which credit him with the design of conquering the whole world. He believes that Alexander did really wish to add India to his dominions, and was really stopped by the mutiny of his army. His account of the crucial episode in the oasis of Ammon is more cautious in its retention of tradition than that of Tarn, and is based on a very detailed and critical study of the texts involved. The Alexander that emerges from his treatment is more of a visionary, more inspired with the idea of his divine mission, and less of the calculating statesman, than the Alexander of the *Cambridge Ancient History*. His book, with its careful attention to details and its scientifically moderate judgments, will remain in all probability as long a standard work as did that of Droysen, which laid the foundation for the modern study of the subject nearly a century ago.

Mr. John Buchan's Life of Caesar belongs to a popular series of brief biographies. It would hardly be possible in such a series to say anything new, and Mr. Buchan does not make the attempt. His book is a rapid summary of the great Dictator's life, which brings the lazy student easily through the tangle of war-lords, conservative doctrinaries, and gangsters that is so puzzling to the reader of Cicero's Letters. Within the limits he has set to his difficult task, Mr. Buchan is admirably competent. He has read all the authorities, though we may find his treatment of Sulla, for example, somewhat trite in view of the recent work of

Carcopino, and it is doubtful if he has fully digested the views of Eduard Meyer on Pompey and his aims. He has great admiration for Caesar, but that does not prevent him, as it did Mommsen, from being fair to Cicero. What we miss most in his work is any clear view of the Hellenistic background. He does not indeed denounce the degenerate "Orientalism" of the Greeks, as was so much the fashion a generation ago; but his book, while rightly ignoring, as being largely artificial, the "constitutionalism" of aristocratic Roman public opinion, fails to state fully Caesar's real problem: the combination into one unit of the world-state and the city-state. This was really a Greek, not a Roman problem, and Caesar's Romanisation of the West made it ever so much more difficult. His principal historical interest for our times lies in his attempt at its solution. Mr. Buchan's little work should attract many to an enthralling period of history. M. T.

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER. By Margaret Yeo. London: Sheed and Ward. 1931. 7s. 6d.

ST. PETER CANISIUS. By Rev. William Reany, D.D. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1931. 3s. 6d.

RARELY—perhaps too rarely—does a reviewer grow really enthusastic about a book sent him for review. None the less it is, frankly, impossible not to be enthusiastic about this new Life of St. Francis Xavier. We are poor in English in good Lives of Xavier. Father Schurhammer's Life is the work of a German scholar, Father Brou's fine book has never been translated into English, Father Coleridge's is out of date, while some otherwise admirably written Protestant Lives, such as Miss Robertson's, contrive to suggest that, if Xavier was not a Protestant, at least he was very nearly one. One is naturally slow to hail as the best yet produced any new book about a world-figure such as St. Francis Xavier, but the present reviewer gladly testifies that this book is easily the most satisfying Life of Xavier which he has read in English.

Of course, it has its faults. For example, when Mrs. Yeo speaks of the Spiritual Exercises, it is in surprisingly uncertain and unconvincing phrases. Some of her brief references to Indian habits and ideas, too, betray the naivety of the consultor of Encyclopedias. And, on the whole, the book is perhaps a trifle over-decorated—though certainly the decoration, whether it be by way of historical reference or scenic description, is extremely well done. Others, again, may regret that it is not always easy to disentangle the cold historical facts from their

literary setting. But the fact that such trifling criticisms are all that suggest themselves to a lover of Xavier is itself a testimony to the warmth, vigour and enthusiasm which are revealed on every page of this splendid Life. One wishes it heartily a phenomenal sale, and would like to see it in every boys' library.

Father Reany's new Life of St. Peter Canisius is a book of quite a different type. Father Reany does not wield the stately measure of Margaret Yeo's prose. His study of Canisius is less vivid and brilliant, though less generous and sincere than hers of Xavier. The book, indeed, is one of those which rather suppose an interest in their subject than create one; but, *supositis supponendis*, St. Peter Canisius is in very kindly hands when in those of his new biographer. One slight misprint obtruded itself: on p. 41, "1547" should be "1548." D. D.

PETER ABAILARD. By J. G. Sikes, M.A. Cambridge: University Press. 1932. 12s. 6d.

ABAILARD is one of these medieval figures that people of our time would like to think of as out of joint with their own age and as possessing a mind and temperament essentially modern. His relations with Heloise seem to proclaim him to be an early Romanticist, and his cast of mind had made him a premature Protestant —an early day star of the Reformation. People with these views will be disappointed with Mr. Sikes's book. In a sober introductory chapter, where he gives a sketch of Abailard's life, the "affair" with Heloise is briefly told. It is reduced to its true proportions in the career of a man whose interest in life was essentially intellectual. In Mr. Sikes's pages the romantic Abailard is thus reduced to very small proportions; but the Protestant Abailard has disappeared altogether—and let us hope for ever. The truth is that such an Abailard never existed, and was only the projection of certain modern Protestant minds on to a personality and career, arresting and erratic enough, no doubt, but in its essential features in no way Protestant.

Mr. Sikes has written a very careful, patient and thorough study of Abailard the thinker and teacher. He has aimed at estimating his achievement and at showing his place in the history of thought. If it cannot be honestly said that the *exposé* of Abailard's views is always clear, we should recognise that the fault is not Mr. Sikes's; for the theological and philosophical thought of his subject is certainly not clear cut or consistent. The twelfth was not merely chronologically but also logically and intellectually the predecessor of the thirteen century. The

great synthesis of Faith and reason which was built up by St. Albert the Great, Alexander Halensis, St. Bonaventure and above all by St. Thomas in the thirteenth century was being worked on and was taking shape and outline in the twelfth, but was certainly not completed. Anselm of Canterbury, Anselm of Laon, William of Champeaux, William of St. Thierry, John of Salisbury were some of those engaged on this work. Abailard was one of these workers, but he was not the greatest; he did not leave the deepest imprint on the work; he is not identified with the most permanent thought. His views and explanations were not received into the fully accepted synthesis of the next century. His solution of the problem of universals was his most permanent contribution to the accepted stock of thought; but Mr. Sikes overstates the truth when he says that Abailard gave as complete a statement of this question as St. Thomas. Some of his theological views were condemned by the council of Sens.

The permanent influence then of Abailard was not great. He founded no school and left no disciples. His fame is due more to his character and his stormy career than to his intellectual achievement. He was an incomparable teacher; wherever he lectured he attracted crowds of students. He was the greatest dialectician of his age. He aimed at employing dialectics for the explanation and concordance of the mysteries of Faith. In this he represents one aspect of the Middle Ages—its intellectualism. In another aspect of that age—the mystical—he is completely deficient.

Mr. Sikes's careful and well documented study gives what will probably remain the accepted estimate of the work of Abailard. H. K.

Economics

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By E. Lipson. Vols. II. and III. London: Black. 1931. 30s. the set.

Good things are worth waiting for in patience; and the second and third volumes of Mr. Lipson's *Economic History* amply reward the student who has been looking forward to their appearance during the many years that have elapsed since the first volume was published. The first volume was devoted to the Middle Ages, and the two new volumes deal with the Age of Mercantilism. The period covered opens at the accession of Queen Elizabeth and closes at the end of the eighteenth century. The second volume deals with the history of English industries, external trade and agriculture, and the third with mercantile policy, the control of industry and the relief of the poor. The narrative is

based on extensive research among original sources, and particular attention is given to tracing the development of economic opinion by quotations from contemporary writers.

The keynote of Mr. Lipson's treatment of his subject is continuity. Again and again in reading the account of the problems of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we are reminded of the problems of our own times. Monopolies, strikes, unemployment and currency troubles engaged the attention of public men then as they engage it now; one might be tempted to conclude that there is nothing in the economic world of to-day that had not its counterpart in earlier times. It is possible that the insistence on continuity may be exaggerated, and that the desire to trace an unbroken evolution characterized by small variations may blind us to some of the abrupt mutations of economic development. The growth of economic science has in itself completely transformed the discussion of economic problems and the formulation of economic policies; and the rapidity of change in the modern world has created new situations undreamt of by the statesmen of earlier ages. The difference in magnitude between the problems of the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries is such as to constitute a difference of kind rather than of degree.

Mercantilism did not constitute a coherent system of economic thought. Mercantile policy differed from country to country and from age to age. The mercantile measures adopted in England were not identical with those in France, Holland and other continental States, and the English mercantile measures themselves differed in different centuries. Underlying superficial differences of application there was one great principle which animated the whole mercantile period, namely, that economic policy should be framed so as to advance national power. It is unquestionable that mercantilism was a political rather than an economic programme: it aimed at power rather than at plenty, to adopt the antithesis suggested by Bacon, or at defence rather than at opulence, to use that immortalized by Adam Smith. National wealth was regarded not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. A rich people was desirable because it meant a rich government, and a rich government was desirable because it meant a strong government.

The immediate aim of mercantilism was the self-sufficiency of the State. Reliance on outside sources for essential commodities might prove a source of weakness in war, besides tending to enrich other countries by trade in times of peace. Protection for both agriculture and manufacture was the leading manifestation of mercantilist policy. The thing to be obtained at all costs was a

favourable balance of trade, which would result in the import of the precious metals. The attitude of the mercantilists towards the movement of bullion has been widely misunderstood; they did not, except in certain loose and unguarded expressions, identify gold and wealth, nor were they so foolish as modern critics sometimes suggest in insisting on the importance of the metal which constituted, in their time to a far greater extent than to-day, the sinews of war and the basis of credit.

A thorough and complete policy of self-sufficiency would ultimately lead to the disappearance of all international trade. In England at least such an end was never contemplated or desired. On the contrary Mr. Lipson shows that, since the end of the sixteenth century, England has relied for its prosperity on the existence of a world-wide external commerce and has always aimed at the penetration of outside markets. International dealings must however, in the view of the mercantilists, be made the means of still further increasing the national strength, and this object was achieved by the Navigation Acts, which were employed to foster numbers of seamen, useful in war, and to develop trade with the plantations and colonies. The so-called old colonial system was a typical manifestation of mercantilist policy: England provided the colonies with settlers, capital, military and naval protection, and a market for their products, and in return insisted on their providing a sheltered market for English shipping and manufactures. Arrangements of this nature proved satisfactory and mutually beneficial so long as the colonies remained thinly populated and engaged principally on the production of agricultural produce and raw materials. They began to be felt as oppressive as soon as the colonies developed to the manufacturing stage; they were in their very nature transitional and were clearly unsuitable as between two countries at the same stage of economic development. Nevertheless the trade between England and Ireland was based on principles resembling the old colonial policy, with the result, according to Mr. Lipson, that in this case "Mercantilism, conceived in the narrowest spirit, produced its bitterest fruits." G. O'B.

Education

THE JESUITS AND EDUCATION. The Society's Teaching Principles and Practice, especially in Secondary Education in the United States. By William J. McGucken, S.J., Ph.D. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company. 1932. pp. 352. Four dollars.

Father McGucken, who is Professor of Education in St. Louis

University, opens his interesting and scholarly history of Jesuit education in the United States by giving some figures to show the influence of the Order on American Catholic education. His data are worth citing. In all, the American Jesuits have 36 schools of secondary grade with 15,083 students, 13 colleges of liberal arts with an enrolment of 13,545, and 14 universities offering professional courses in addition to the arts and sciences. Thus, the numerical strength of the Jesuit schools is considerable. But the author is concerned with the system of education that obtains in these schools. He divides his work into three sections.

The first section is introductory and fairly brief. It discusses "the origins of Jesuit pedagogy in the sixteenth century and those forces at work within and without the Order that resulted in the document known as the *Ratio Studiorum*." As a background for his principal theme, it is valuable, though in contrast to the rest of the work, which is richly documented from original and hitherto unpublished sources, it follows the traditional summary given by secondary sources—a summary that is not wholly accurate on certain points. One statement particularly needs correction. The idea has become current that from first to last St. Ignatius looked upon education as a secondary matter—indeed, in some sense as a very dangerous serpent which, if he were not careful, might some day turn upon him and bite him. The author quotes and approves of this estimate (p. 8). But despite its prevalence, the idea is wholly false, as can be shown from the correspondence and instructions of Ignatius and from the testimony of such of his collaborators as Nadal and Polanco.

However, this point aside, which does not affect the story of Jesuit education in America, the second section of the author's work presents an excellent history of the Jesuit collegiate foundations, first in the Colonies, then in the three principal Jesuit Provinces of the United States. Here we have the intimate details of the founding of Georgetown College in 1789 and of its development from a rather primitive Latin academy into a flourishing Catholic university. It was the progenitor of similar foundations in Maryland, Massachusetts and New York. In the Middle West the Missouri Mission opened a free school in St. Louis in 1829, with 150 students, 30 of whom were boarders. Its early history was heroic but disappointing. However, the courage and skill of the little group of Belgian Jesuits which directed it gradually made an impression on the frontier community and turned the minds of the pioneer traders to realize the importance of education. The results more than repaid their labours.

In its connection, a point of some interest not noted by the author is that in 1833 Bishop Rosati of St. Louis obtained on behalf of the school a dispensation from the Holy See permitting the Jesuit schools in America to accept tuition from their scholars. This was the first formal remission of the age-old Jesuit principle of giving educational service absolutely *gratis*. The decree issued at the time by Pope Gregory XVI extended the dispensation to the Jesuit schools of England and Ireland.

The third section of the author's study is a thorough-going and scholarly presentation of the evolution of the modern American Jesuit High School. He shows the influences at work in shaping an educational policy—the principles of the *Ratio Studiorum;* the peculiar American *milieu*, social, economic and educational; the parochial school; contact with secular institutions and standardizing agencies, and the directive force that came from the General of the Order in Rome. Of particular interest is the author's analysis of the position of the classics in American Jesuit high schools. Latin has never lost its predominant influence. Greek too, despite its rejection by so many of the public schools, has maintained its place in the curriculum along with Latin. In the Maryland-New York section of the Order, of the 6,989 high school students under Jesuit direction in 1925 only 889, or less than 13 per cent., were not studying Greek. Though the average is somewhat lower in the rest of the country, nevertheless Greek is being studied in all but three of the schools.

The points made here only touch the surface of Father McGucken's really valuable and scholarly analysis. His conclusions are sober and based on cited authorities. There is no attempt to extol, nor to prove a thesis. In all, the picture is heartening and to a believer in the principles of the *Ratio Studiorum* the author's discussion of that document in reference to modern conditions and needs will prove both interesting and instructive. The Catholic publishers of the work, which is one of a new Science and Culture Series, are to be congratulated on having produced so elegant and substantial a volume.

ALLAN FARRELL

TEXTS FOR CLASSICAL SCHOOLS. Edited by Professor T. Corcoran, D.Litt. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 9d. each.

THE object of this new series is to provide our schools with cheap reading texts for beginners, suited to Irish conditions. The aim all through is to encourage facility in reading as rapidly as possible, leaving formal grammar to be acquired more or less inductively.

In the hands of a skilful teacher these little texts should be of the greatest value. One of the Greek texts, *Attika*, is very simple: three others are more difficult, two of them being drawn from the writings of Isocrates, the third being a selection of passages from St. Basil's famous tract "On the Reading of Greek Literature." Thus the pupil is introduced in the best possible manner to the elements of both history and literature in Greek itself.

The Latin series is more extensive; it comprises two little volumes of extracts from Cicero, one on earlier Roman history, the other on Roman life in Cicero's own time; and four from St. Augustine, of which three are drawn from the *Confessions*, the fourth, on the Roman Empire, from the *De Civitate Dei*. One very valuable aspect of these extracts is that they familiarise the student with texts which, while of primary importance in themselves, are seldom read in the ordinary school course; for instance, the extracts from Cicero's *De Provinciis Consularibus* and other works like the *Republic*, which set forth the views of the greatest Roman prose-writer on Rome's attitude to her Empire.

In the present transitional period, when both Greek and Latin studies, especially the former, have to contend with more serious obstacles in our schools than perhaps ever during the past half-century, these little series offer our teachers an opportunity of re-vitalising what should remain an essential part of our education.

M. T.

History

IRELAND AND IRISHMEN IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Richard Hayes. With a Preface by Hilaire Belloc. Dublin: Phoenix Publishing Co. 1932. 21s. net.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Pierre Gaxotte. Translated, with an Introduction, by Walter Alison Phillips, Litt.D. London: Scribner. 1932. 15s. net.

THESE two books form a quite interesting complement to each other. One is a useful piece of research, the other a very able summary, from a particular point of view, of the research of others. Dr. Hayes has the great merit of having opened up a field which it will take long to exhaust. His performance is an example in thoroughness of detail and charm of presentation to all who will come after him. Most Irishmen have heard, not only of the Irish Brigade, but perhaps also of some of the individuals whose careers he outlines for us: Theobald Dillon, O'Moran, Kilmaine, the Abbé Edgeworth. There will be few, however, among the many readers his book is certain to attract, who have any idea of the wealth of varied personalities and striking adventures his

labours have for the first time set in a clear light. As well as presenting us with a gallery of remarkable portraits and with a number of dramatic stories, he has given to the future Irish historian a great deal of material for incorporation in his account of one of the chief formative periods in the development of our nationalist and revolutionary tradition.

Dr. Hayes has so much to tell of individual Irish soldiers, priests, students, and others in France that he can only outline for us a sketch of contemporary thought in Ireland. That work, of course, has been done elsewhere, and is not so necessary as the other. He makes it quite clear that for the most part the Revolution was greeted here with rejoicing, in which even the young Castlereagh took part. If Ireland's contribution to the contemporary discussions aroused by the Revolution was, as Dr. Hayes thinks, comparatively meagre, the effects of the Revolution on Ireland were far-reaching and by no means ended with '98 or with Emmett. In this connection it is very interesting to note that Dr. Hayes inclines to accept the view of those who hold that Freemasonry was introduced into France by Irish Jacobites. The influence of the Grand Orient, founded in 1773, on the course of revolutionary thought in France has been more and more stressed in recent times. In the transformation of Freemasonry from a Jacobite into a subversive anti-religious movement, a great deal was due to the work of Benjamin Franklin.

Dr. Hayes shows us Irishmen and Irishwomen as actors in every phase of the Revolution, in every social grade and almost in every part of France. The Penal Laws had sent wave after wave of Irish, rich and poor, to serve in the French army, to educate themselves in one of the Irish Colleges or to make, anyhow, a better living than at home. As a result, when the Revolution came, there were Irish everywhere, and their characters and actions ran the whole moral gamut, from the heroic Father Glynn and the noble Abbé Edgeworth to Robespierre's friend, the fanatical Arthur, the bloodthirsty terrorist O'Sullivan, and the contemptible spy, Somers. There were women, too, of every type from the aristocrat to the wretched denizen of the gutter. Dr. Hayes has studied their records, read their manuscript letters, traced their careers from the archives of Irish, English, and French libraries. In a series of appendices he gives us valuable lists of students in the various Irish Colleges, of Irish persons imprisoned, guillotined, and so on. What makes his book so readable as well as so thorough is the fact that it was quite obviously a labour of love. We hope his brilliant success will inspire others to follow his example.

Monsieur Gaxotte's book originally appeared in French as a companion volume to Monsieur Jacques Bainville's "History of France," in a series designed to set forth the views on past French politics of the school led by MM. Maurras and Daudet. It forms a welcome exception to the ordinary treatment of the Revolution by partisans, such as Aulard or Mathiez, of one or another of its heroes, or by English liberal historians whose "impartiality" leads them to admire in the past what they would abominate in the present. Monsieur Gaxotte is himself a partisan of the Monarchy, as might be expected. He condemns Danton as corrupt and Robespierre as an incompetent fanatic, and has few good words to say of any of their friends or rivals. His contempt for the Girondins in boundless; he respects Carnot as a technician of war and Mirabeau as a statesman, but has little respect otherwise for either. It is not by any means to be supposed, however, that he is a fanatical admirer of everything in pre-Revolutionary France. His thesis is that the government of the *ancien régime* had the great advantage over Republican bureaucracy that it was traditional, flexible, and full of respect for custom and the individual. On the other hand he shows that the *ancien régime* slowly dug its own grave—not by misgovernment, but by the extraordinary fashion for scepticism coupled with a naïve belief in "reason" that swept over the French upper classes from 1750 on. In 1789 France was neither remarkably poor nor remarkably ill-governed; what was remarkable was the complete failure of her governing classes to comprehend their own interests or those of the State.

Monsieur Gaxotte makes full use of the enormous amount of research which during the past generation or so has illuminated every phase of the Revolution. His narrative is clear, rapid, and sure; he has great skill in painting in the background of his picture, and his sympathetic description of the old system of government by the *intendants* is a masterpiece of its kind. No book better illustrates the limits to which historical impartiality is subject than this. On the materials out of which others have constructed a panegyric, Monsieur Gaxotte builds a comprehensive and on the whole very reasonable indictment of the Revolution, showing how the Constituent Assembly contained all the germs of later trouble, and tracing the progress of the movement through war, regicide, massacre and bankruptcy, to ultimate failure. His book deserves a wide public not only for its unusual point of view but for its merits as a very able piece of historical writing.

P. O'R.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES. *From the Close of the Middle Ages.* By Ludwig von Pastor. English translation edited by Ralph Francis Kerr. Vols XXI and XXII. London: Kegan Paul. 1932. 15s. each.

Few Popes have set their mark so plainly on the city of Rome as has the Franciscan Pope, Sixtus V, whom Pastor justly likens to the great Julius II. From St. Mary Major's on the Esquiline there radiates to-day a star of roads, each going straight to some goal across the city, and each (save one) the work of this bold planner and destroyer. House, palaces, convents, even ancient churches, were demolished to make way for these new highways, and the critics were not silent as the work began. But the Rome which we know to-day, a city of the Italian Renaissance, with her bold town-planning, her fountains, her obelisks, her Christian inscriptions, her splendid vistas, is essentially the work of an Italian Franciscan who ruled as Pope for five short years. A walk from St. Mary Major's, across the Viminal and the Quirinal, past the Trinità dei Monti to the Pincio, is perhaps the best lesson in the astounding energy that could drive a road so straight through such crowded memories of the past. And it is fitting that this same destroyer and rebuilder should have been able to restore one of Rome's great aqueducts under its Italian name, L'Acqua Felice.

This same astounding energy was the terror of brigands from end to end of the Campagna. Within a few days of his election Sixtus V had decreed that no man should carry arms without permission. On the eve of his coronation four youths were arrested for having offended against the decree. Cardinals pleaded for their lives in vain, and on the next morning—it was May Day—the Pope was crowned in Saint Peter's, and the four young men met death on the scaffold. Within a few weeks of that first warning so many heads of brigands had been brought in to the city, to be set up on the Ponte San Angelo, that men began to complain of the poisoned air. The final triumph came with the death of Lamberto Malatesta two years after the Pope's accession—a proof that his justice was as severe against the powerful as against the weak. Men might jest that more heads of brigands had been carried to Rome in a single summer than melons to the market. But Sixtus V brought peace to the Papal States, and through them to Italy. There was truth in the grim motto which he chose for his first coin: *Noli me tangere.*

This Franciscan, who feared no man, has left his mark also—a permanent mark—on the internal organisation of the Church.

X

Here, as in much else, Pius V and Gregory XIII had shown the way; but it is Sixtus V who first organises the Sacred Congregations of Cardinals as we know them to-day. Of his four new Congregations, the most important was, and is, the Consistorial Congregation, though the Sacred Congregation of Rites is more familiar to the average Catholic. The Inquisition, over which the Holy Father presided in person, still was under Sixtus V, as under the Dominican Pius V, the chief of all Congregations. But more important than the detailed organisation of any single Congregation is the fact that this devolution of power, from the general body of the Cardinals acting in Consistory to a group of Congregations acting under the constant direction of the Holy Father, left the Pope normally free to act on his own personal initiative to a degree that had been hitherto possible only to the strongest, and then only occasionally.

The Pope's determination to act on his personal initiative led to a famous controversy as to the extent of his powers in the matter of the textual revision of the Sixtine Vulgate. Scholars like St. Robert Bellarmine were dismayed at the Pope's personal intervention and its immediate results; and it was some time before the position was clarified, when the Pope's death had ended his plan of a final promulgation. The same tendency to a vigorous personal decision is apparent in the Pope's efforts to alter, if not the Institute of the Society of Jesus (as men had first expected of him), then at least its name. Here too death interrupted his plans; for the decree which Father Acquaviva had been ordered to prepare for the alteration of the name was still subject to the Pope's final revision, and lay still upon his desk, at the time of his unexpected death in 1590.

In foreign affairs the trial and execution of Mary Stuart gives Pastor matter for a dramatic chapter. But the main interest of the Pontificate lies in the Pope's clear-sighted policy towards France, then struggling towards her regeneration under Henry IV. As Pastor truly says, had the Pope been less determined in the support that he gave to Navarre, Henry's cause could never have triumphed. In Spain priests denounced him from the pulpit as a supporter of heretics; but Sixtus was not the first Pope to dread the menace of what Pastor calls Spanish caesaropapalism. His was the longer view. France must be saved for Catholicism, but as an independent power. At his last meeting with the French Congregation, six days before his death, he struggled against his fever to state once more his policy and his undaunted hope. "If Serafino Olivario should announce the conversion of Navarre,

he ought to receive the Cardinal's hat." The Pope died within the week; but the conversion followed five years later. The same Clement VIII, who crowned one work of Sixtus by the issue of the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate, crowned another of his predecessor's works when he received into the Church the founder of modern France. A. G.

THE FIRST CENTURY OF ENGLISH FEUDALISM, 1066-1166. By Professor F. M. Stenton. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1932. 15s. net.

EVERYONE knows the date of the battle of Hastings. Exactly a hundred years afterwards, Henry II issued the Assise of Clarendon and the "Cartae Baronum." The first of these established the jury system for criminal cases; the second required the tenants-in-chief to send in to the King a list of all who held of them by military service, so that all who had not yet done allegiance to him might do it within a definite time. These are the limits within which Professor Stenton fixes the first age of Anglo-Norman feudalism, in which the inchoate feudalism which the Conqueror's companions brought over merges into the organised State feudalism of the age of Glanville and such legists, and the strong but personal monarchy of William the First merges into the scientific rule of Henry the Second.

Professor Stenton is one of the most eminent of those younger students and successors of Stubbs, Round, Maitland, and Vinogradoff who in the last half century have made English tenurial and legal history one of the most living and progressive of subjects. In his introduction to these Ford Lectures, delivered in the University of Oxford in 1929, he pays a fine tribute to one of his masters, John Horace Round. Students of these men's work in a subject that is certainly recondite will settle down with close interest to read Professor Stenton's garnerings of thirty years of study in a very essential part of it.

As for the origins of feudalism, Professor Stenton finds no evidence of it worth the name before the Norman Conquest. The Anglo-Saxons had no system of private fortresses or fighting on horseback, nor specialisation of service. Their earls were officials; while the post-Conquest earl was a great landed magnate —more important personally, but officially of less account.

It was from the Conqueror's native duchy that later England derived its characteristic feudalism, as well as the strong rulers who bridled its disintegrating spirit. The honour and liberty, manor courts, the knight, etc. were all of French origin. Professor Stenton is not dealing primarily with the monarchy, nor

with the top stratum of Anglo-Norman society, on which much more is known. The value and originality of his researches are for the position and duties of the mesne tenant and of the lesser baronage. The relations of the vassal to his lord, as compared with those better known ones of tenant in chief to King, are elucidated as never before. It is all based on profound and extensive studies of the whole surviving "corpus" of the land-charters of 1066-1166, many of them unpublished up to now, of which his appendix contains a number of examples.

Those who think of "bold bad barons" in a constant defiance of the Crown or their lords will be surprised to note how serious, humane and honourable were these relations, sanctioned by moral and legal bonds which the majority respected. Even in Stephen's reign it is shown how this often-denounced "anarchy" and local independence were mainly due to the land-magnates, in the absence of a strong king such as Henry I, whom they knew to be necessary to the social system, making local treaties and wielding local powers so as to maintain order in their localities till such time as the general authority was restored.

Professor Stenton finds much to commend in the earlier and variegated feudalism of this first century. The legal relations of the lord and his men ("barones") were worked out then in ways which to us are obscure, but which this book does a great deal to enlighten. A new age began when Henry II and his successors established an uniform State feudalism, which lasted till 1640, through decisions of royal judges and the "neat tenurial categories" of writers such as Glanville and Bracton.

The hackneyed praise and phrase of "masterly" can be unreservedly applied to this book, which is rich in proof and evidence for its conclusions. A striking impression is left of the wonderful strength and efficiency of the Norman military system, with its castles and constables, knight-service, castle-guard and other feudal duties, its weapons and equipment, through which the leaders of this great race knew how to conquer, hold and rule a country—and incidentally of course to exploit its people, not always however to their disadvantage. Students of the Norman invasion of Ireland will deduce a good deal from this book as to the methods that for a time were all-successful here. E. C.

Literature

LES POESIES DES GOLIARDS. Par Olga Dobiache-Rojdesvensky. Paris: Les Editions Rieder. 1931. 35 fr.

MME. DOBIACHE-ROJDESVENSKY'S little book makes a welcome addition to the library of the student of medieval life and letters.

Recalling in some respects the well known works of Miss Helen Waddell in the same department of scholarship, it approaches the subject from a different angle, and may well serve as a supplement to these books.

Mme. Rojdesvensky limits herself to the Latin secular lyric of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, classifying it and commenting on its matter and the motives of its writers. She discusses its evidential value as documents for the history of the religious life and thought of the period, and she points out how wrongly it has been estimated in this respect by those whom polemical zeal led to regard it as an armoury against Rome in the religious conflict that began in the XVIth century.

In this aspect it is clear enough that its value is but slight—that, in fact, it is of no greater evidential value than is possessed by the partisan pamphlets of the ordinary political faction fight. When one reads such pieces as *Propter Sion non tacebo*, or the more famous *Utar contra vitia*, one easily perceives that the indignation that begets the verse is not wholly the outcome of anger against evil enthroned in high places of the Church. One can read just as fierce outpourings against individuals whose munificence has not come up to the expectations of the recipient. There is but little proportion between the poet's resentment and its evoking cause, as for instance in the lines—

> Pontificum spuma, fex cleri, sordida struma ;
> Qui dedit in bruma mihi mantellum sine pluma.

The truth is that the schools and universities were productive of déclassés ; Hungerkandidaten abounded, and in those centuries they have the characteristics that mark them in every age and place. For other reasons, too, their *saeva indignatio* is not to be taken at its face value, nor was it taken so by the objects of their wrath—as Mme. Rojdesvensky puts it, *l'épiderme des hommes du XIIe siècle n'était pas très chatouilleuse*.

In this work the best lyric work of the period does not seem to receive treatment at all adequate to its literary merit. The specimens given under this heading are by no means the best that might be presented. The writer, however, is well aware of its value, and she has many judicious observations to offer in this section of her work. She notes that its spirit has much that may be regarded as the herald of the later Renaissance. It is true that such a view will receive but scant sympathy from conservative scholars whose judgment in literature is moulded by what Professor Eoin MacNeill has termed the "intellectual snobbery"

of the Renaissance. The introducer of the present book, M. Ferdinand Lot, is indeed in this respect in frank disagreement with the views of the work he sponsors—for him this poetry is, for the most part, "*des vers faciles, trop souvent en latin de cuisine ;* but a more open-eyed criticism will see in it a life much more fresh and vigorous than is to be discovered in the faded and artificial imitations that passed for creative literature in Latin, when the Renaissance had done its work. W. J. W.

A HISTORY OF LATER GREEK LITERATURE. By F. A. Wright. London : Routledge. 1932. 18s. net.

PHILOSOPHIES OF BEAUTY. From Socrates to Robert Bridges. Selected and edited by E. F. Carritt. Oxford : Clarendon Press. London : Milford. 1931. 15s. net.

IT seems strange that the English-speaking world should have had to wait till 1932 for a continuous history of Greek Literature between the death of Alexander the Great and that of Justinian. As Mr. Wright points out, this period of literary history is rivalled only by Classical and Medieval Latin, French, and English among the great literatures of the world. Within its scope fall not only the New Testament and the writings of the Fathers, but a large amount of first-class secular literature : Theocritus, Polybius, Plutarch, Lucian, Plotinus, Procopius, the poets of the Anthology, as well as an immense quantity of poetry, fragmentary and complete, which can at any rate contend with Latin poetry of the second rank. The influence of this later Greek literature on subsequent ages is difficult to assess. What would comedy have been without Menander, or Shakespeare without North's Plutarch, or seventeenth-century poetry without the Anthology, or for that matter the great Renaissance essayists, Rabelais, Montaigne, Sir Thomas Browne, Burton, without the immense sources of varied and curious lore provided by their precursors in antiquity, Athenaeus, Aelian, Lucian and Plutarch ?

Mr. Wright, whose previous collaboration in a History of Later Latin Literature had marked him out for the work, has performed his fascinating, if laborious, task with remarkable zest and completeness. He leaves very little untouched ; the Septuagint, the Alexander-romance, the *Carmen Marisaeum*, the "Alexandrian Erotic Fragment," the Atthidographers, the letter of Theon the schoolboy to his father, St. John Chrysostom's sermon on the fallen Eutropius, may be found discussed and illustrated in his pages alongside of Theophrastus, Strabo, Plutarch, and the greater writers. For a book of little more than

400 pages, the amount of information he manages to provide is really remarkable; and he is especially partial to quoting his authors, often in lively verse translations. His style is easy and pleasant, and his aim is to assist the inexpert, hence his use of such easily-acquired books as the Loeb series. He provides in addition a most useful brief bibliography. Altogether a highly competent and interesting work, in which many new delights are provided for the lover of literature.

Mr. Carritt's book is an authology of aesthetic theory, setting forth in their own words the views of great philosophers and literary men on the nature of Beauty. He includes not only the expected passages from well-known writers like Plotinus, Ruskin, and Walter Pater, but also more remote material such as part of a paper by Theodor Lipps on his theory of Empathy and an extract from the very interesting "Speculations" of T. E. Hulme, which has become a sort of Bible to younger, post-War writers and critics of the "neo-classical" school. The greatest space is devoted to Plato and Croce, in whom Mr. Carritt sees the terms of a long evolution; but Gentile's recent work (1931) in criticism of Croce is also represented. An index makes a valuable feature of a work whose utility to students should be great. M. T.

THE RHYTHM OF ENGLISH PROSE. By Norton R. Tempest. Cambridge: University Press. 1930. 6s. net.

Considering the subject, this book is as satisfactory as could be expected. It discusses the nature of rhythm in general, of prose-rhythm and its scansion, and of cadence in prose, rightly regarded as of cardinal importance for determining its movement. Mr. Tempest's views throughout are clear, definite, and in line with the most respectable theorists and tradition, if any tradition really exists. For indeed all agree on the controversial character of the subject, but on nothing else connected with it. And so this book had better be called "Advice to Investigators" than "A Manual for Students." For one cannot study a science of which no fundamental principle is certain; indeed there can be no science without knowledge. And, although all ideas of rhythm have a common factor (else the word would be meaningless), no one has yet persuaded the rest that he has contrived to determine what that common factor is. In fact we do not yet know exactly *what* rhythm is, though its definition is as handy as a sixpence on the pavement.

Mr. Tempest is firmly at variance with those who would equate English rhythm either to that of music or to the quantita-

tive measures of the classics. I have no doubt he has found the key to its nature when he calls it a stressed rhythm. But his adversaries may have seen something of the truth that he has missed. For instance the resemblance in effect between musical and literary rhythm is impressive; Mr. Tempest's mentions, but does not refute, Sidney Lanier's theory of their affinity. With respect to the other theory, there is no doubt that there are no conventional or invariable quantities assigned to English syllables; the same syllable may be longer or shorter, strong or weak in different metrical contexts. The emphasis required to maintain the pattern of the foot is conferred by stress not metre. Nevertheless there seems to be a foot-quantity in verse. Even in the most heavily equivalenced verse of Shakespeare or Webster the reader will instinctively attempt to pronounce each foot in the same *time* as the others. Let experiment be made with a metronome while the following line is read:

And flashing round and round, and whirl'd in an arch.

It will be found that the reader has spontaneously contrived to pronounce the trisyllabic foot at the end, so that the *ictus* on "arch" falls at the same interval of time from "whirled," as that on "whirled" did from "round." Perhaps this is the specific difference of verse from prose, for in reading prose no such isochronism of beat is observed. Mr. Tempest's two criteria of difference are: (1) Verse allows a foot to divide a word, prose does not. (2) Verse retains the same fundamental foot, prose varies it. But these can hardly be called specific differences, for they are only tendencies. The first criterion admits exceptions in prose, on Mr. Tempest's own showing; the second is almost as honoured in the breach as the observance. For prose, if it is to have any rhythm, must have consistency of pattern; while verse, if it is to have any significance, must have variation.

But it is easy to seem wise where all men are dubious. And so complaint here is perhaps ungenerous. At all events the book is lucid and sensible and so deserves commendation to other pioneers. It is also a fine anthology of prose-passages with their beauties ear-marked, though Mr. Tempest shows himself more attracted by the pendulous undulations of Sir Thomas Browne than by the swift and even gait of Malory, whose name does not occur. Mr. Tempest deserves our gratitude too for pointing out the rhythmical beauty of many of the Latin collects of the Church. But it must be confessed that the art has declined somewhat in the more recent additions to the Missal and the Breviary.

A. L.

THE ENGLISH WORKS OF SIR THOMAS MORE. Volume I. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1931. £2 2s. Edition de luxe, £5 5s.

THE edition of More's Works in seven volumes, of which this handsome quarto is the first, will be, when completed, a fitting monument to the greatest and noblest Englishman of his times, one of the greatest Englishmen of all time. Not since William Rastell published them in the reign of Queen Mary has there been any edition of More's English writings, though his *Utopia*, written in Latin, has been frequently republished. But this splendid edition will make amends for long neglect, for the scholarship of its editors and the technique of its publishers and printers have combined to produce a work which will be a valuable acquisition and an ornament to any library.

In this first volume we are given More's Early Poems, his Life of Pico della Mirandola, his history of Richard III, and his treatise on the Four Last Things. The principal editor is Mr. W. E. Campbell, who tells us in his Preface that thirty years ago, when listening to a sermon preached by Cardinal Gasquet at Downside, he conceived the ambition of bringing out some such work as this. It is thus a dream come true. In this first volume he has the assistance of Professor A. W. Reed, M.A., D.LITT., of King's College, London, who contributes introductions and philological notes, of Mr. W. A. G. Doyle-Davidson who deals with textual criticism, and of Professor A. W. Chambers of University College, London, author of many valuable works. Mr. Reed's introduction, dealing with William Rastell and More's works, throws most interesting sidelights on the history of Catholicism in the days of Henry VIII, Queen Mary, and their successors. The introductory matter is followed by a facsimile of the edition of 1557. After 127 pages of further notes and collations More's four works are given in modern type and, except the poems, in modern spelling.

What are we to say of the works themselves? All of them belong to an early period of More's life before the controversies and struggles of the Reformation had begun. Accordingly they are not apologetic nor controversial. The four poems are the work of his youth. The first is a lively story in verse about a certain sergeant who dressed up as a friar and got soundly belaboured for his pains. Then come some verses written for a masque or pageant enacted in his father's house. The third piece is an elegy on the death of Elizabeth, Queen Mother of Henry VIII, and embodies much of More's philosophy of life.

The little biography of the Italian humanist and penitent, Pico della Mirandola, makes a highly edifying story, but its chief interest to many will be the clear and vigorous prose in which it is written and, from another point of view, the light it throws on More's own thoughts and aspirations.

The History of Richard III is a dark page of English history, stained with every sort of crime. But it is written in no less nervous and vivid English than the pleasant story of Pico, and gives More some claim to the title of Father of English historical prose.

Finally there is the unfinished ascetical treatise on the Four Last Things written when he was already Privy Councillor of Henry VIII and Under-Treasurer of England. It witnesses to his vigorous spirituality and deep Catholic convictions. Yet it is full of lively and homely wit.

The publication of this magnificent edition of Blessed Thomas More's writings is something more than a literary event: it is a religious event of deep significance. S. J. B.

Philosophy

ETHICS. By Nicolai Hartmann. Translated by Stanton Cort. Vol. I.—Moral Phenomena; Vol. II.—Moral Values. London: Allen and Unwin. 1932. 12s. 6d. each.

THIS is the first instalment of a translation of Professor Hartmann's *Ethik*. The work is to be completed in a third volume on Moral Freedom, but a general idea of the total system can be gathered from the section now before us. The logical and metaphysical basis of Hartmann's views is to be found in the philosophy of Husserl, and his specifically ethical theories are greatly influenced by the ethical writings of Max Scheler. The result is a marked reaction against the subjectivism and formalism of Kant's theories and an attempt to construct an ethical system at once objective and material.

One may, perhaps, most readily grasp Professor Hartmann's position if one starts with the moral theories of Kant. Human acts, for Kant, have a twofold aspect. On the one hand they are events in the world of nature or in the realm of experience, on the other hand they belong to the world of will or of practical reason. Viewing them merely as events in a causal world of experience, like any other physical events, Kant can discover in them no moral quality. Their moral quality, therefore, must come from the will—hence Kant's subjectivism. Again the content or the material side of the action can have no moral

significance. The specific moral quality of the act must spring from its form—hence Kant's formalism.

Now these two conclusions of Kant are not merely erroneous, they are disastrous, and we must get back to an ethics at once objective and material. Kant's fundamental error springs from too narrow an interpretation of the term *experience*. If we narrow down the term experience to a merely natural, unethical world, we obviously shall not discover moral qualities and distinctions in such a world. But in fact the world of experience is much wider than the mere world of nature. The world of our experience is not merely a factual world ; it is a world of values, ethical, aesthetical and so forth. We must get back to the essential truth in the philosophy of Plato, that the ideal world is just as significant or even more significant than the world of nature, that it is *real* in some sense which needs exact definition. The relation between the world of facts and the world of values becomes then a central problem for any realistic philosophy.

Much of the difficulty of this book arises from the fact that it presupposes a familiarity with the terminology of " Phenomenology " which the English reader will not as a rule possess. Values, to begin with, are " essences." " There is another realm of being than that of existence, than that of ' real ' things and of consciousness which is not less ' real.' " This is the realm of essence—the Scholastic *essentia*. In their mode of Being, values are Platonic ideas. " They belong to that further realm of Being which Plato first discovered, the realm which we can spiritually discern but cannot see or grasp." " They are not even capable of being directly grasped by thought ; rather are they immediately discerned only by an inner ' vision,' like Plato's ideas." I am prepared to confess that I find all this somewhat unsatisfactory. What is vital in the Scholastic *essentia* is precisely the fact that it *is* the object of thought. Vision, no doubt, is an admirable thing ; but if we make it the organon of ethical knowledge, we seem inevitably to expose ourselves (as Green says in another connection) to the vagaries of every lively gentleman who tells us that he searches his bosom for it in vain. And how are we to distinguish between the ethical depth and significance of A's vision and of B's ?

An effort, no doubt, is made to face these difficulties in the second volume on Moral Values. This analysis of moral values is interesting as an account of Professor Hartmann's personal preferences, but it can lay little claim to universal acceptance. The values, he tells us, form a gradation but not a system or unity. We can discover no principle in their order or hierarchy.

Rather is it itself the result of an immediate but quite unorganised vision or insight. His assertion, moreover, that there exist genuine antinomies between the different self-evident values is quite fatal to the whole theory. Nor is his account of these antinomies particularly convincing. If it is a moral duty, to take a single instance, to aim at purity of mind it cannot at the same time be a moral duty to pursue a width of experience which contradicts it. This is fundamental. But the suggested antinomy is in fact quite illusory, and rests on narrowing down purity or innocence of mind to the sense in which we speak of the village idiot as an "innocent."

The next significant position in this theory is that values are the prerequisites of goods. Values again are *a priori* in the Kantian sense of not being dependent on or derived from mere particular experiences—a point admirably brought out by Plato in the *Lysis*. Values are absolute; they are not dependent on anything beyond themselves. Of course one may suggest that goods appear to be valuable only for a subject. But this "for" does not make the values in any genuine sense relative. "In the fact that geometrical laws hold good only 'for' spatial figures, mechanical laws only 'for' real bodies, physiological laws only 'for' organisms—in this fact no one sees any relativity as regards the categorical import of these laws."

Values finally have self-existence. They subsist independently of the consciousness of them. "Consciousness can grasp or miss them, but cannot make them or spontaneously decree them." But, again, values have no self-existence that is real; their essence, their mode of Being, remains merely an ideal mode.

This is the real crux of the system. It is obvious that this theory emphasises principles of great and lasting value for ethics. It represents a return from modern subjectivism to the great tradition of the Middle Ages. But it seems to have a fatal weakness in its theory of the universal. Just as the weakness of Kant's theory lies in a sense in its conceptualism, so the weakness of this theory seems to be in its extreme Platonic realism. Both theories detach the realm of the universal from the realm of the particular—a quite fatal philosophical disjunction. And although Professor Hartmann makes earnest efforts to reunite the real and the ideal worlds, he obviously fails to do so. Ultimately any theory which disjoins the realm of fact and the realm of value must be ethically unsatisfactory. Professor Hartmann, admittedly, is quite aware of this and even emphasises it, but it is fatal to his own theory. When he endeavours to explain their interpenetration he becomes incoherent.

D. O'KEEFFE

AN ESSAY CONCERNING THE UNDERSTANDING, KNOWLEDGE, OPINION AND ASSENT. By John Locke. Edited with an introduction by Benjamin Rand, Ph.D., LL.D. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. London: Milford. 1931. Pp. ix. + 307. 15s.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF DESCARTES. By A. Boyce Gibson, M.A. (Oxon). London: Methuen. 1932. 12s. 6d.

HUME'S PHILOSOPHY OF HUMAN NATURE. By John Laird, M.A. London: Methuen. 1932. 12s. 6d.

LOCKE's Essay concerning Human Understanding was published in 1690; and the discovery by Dr. Rand of the original draft for the Essay, written nineteen years earlier, is obviously of great importance for students of Locke and for the history of English philosophy. Here we have in a much shorter form (only about one-fifth of the length of the Essay) an explicit statement of practically all the essential doctrines of the larger work. This shorter, more continuous statement enables us to see more easily the course of Locke's argument, and the relative importance attached by him to the various discussions. It should help considerably to clarify many disputed questions of interpretation.

Dr. Rand's full introduction, giving an analysis of the draft, and the references on each page to the corresponding parts of the larger Essay, will make it easy for students to compare the earlier with the later work.

The new books by Mr. Boyce Gibson and Professor Laird on Descartes and Hume will be welcomed as meeting a need for a more objective and balanced study of the leading philosophers than the histories of philosophy or even previous monographs have provided. When the actual movement of the philosopher's mind is followed out, the historical setting filled in, and the factors which occasioned the different discussions shown, the system thus presented may lose in sharpness of contour, but it is seen in a way more resembling its original shape.

Descartes's system is so many-sided that it is difficult to present it so as to give each aspect its proper emphasis. Scarcely any other philosopher has had such divergent judgments passed upon him. He has been variously regarded as "Pelagius reborn," or "continuing the work of Bruno," even as "having inspired the declaration of the Rights of Man." He may be viewed "as the distant descendant of Aquinas, or as the distant progenitor of Kant." Literary history has always regarded him as, with Corneille and Pascal, a leader of French classicism. Among prominent commentators, some have held that the physical and

the metaphysical parts of his philosophy have no continuity and can be detached without injury; others, that his theology was subservient to his scientific outlook; others, such as M. Maritain, that the only thing he really treasured was his physics.

Mr. Boyce Gibson's work is characterized by an engaging diffuseness and a sympathetic effort to follow out the full complexity of Descartes's thought. Disagreeing with the above-mentioned views, he gives the primacy to the philosophical and religious aspects of the system. Descartes's philosophy reflected the duality of attitude which characterised his life: "a contemplative mysticism, as far as possible detached from all moral and practical interests, absorbed in the intuition of God and the truth, together with a pragmatic zeal for humanity, working through the scientific conquest of nature." His system was a product of the great classical period of French culture. "The double revival of intellectual and religious life, combined with the political unification and expansion of France under Richelieu and his successors, created one of those periods of history when, for a short time and under favouring circumstances, the spirit of man balances in a central harmony qualities usually found in opposition. . . . . On the bracing tension of intersecting sincerities there often follows the philosophic vision, and it was in such a time of strenuous and conflicting aims that philosophy was reborn with Descartes."

Holding that philosophical and religious problems are dominant in Descartes's thought, Mr. Boyce Gibson naturally takes great pains to interpret his arguments for the existence of God. This chapter is of particular interest, especially as there are signs of a return to favour of "intuitional" methods.

If this is the real Descartes, he is clearly the antithesis of Hume. It is not merely the opposition of "experimental" to "intuitional" method, but a complete contrast of outlook. If Descartes was constructive and mystical, Hume was sceptical and cynical. Approaching Professor Laird's masterly analysis of Hume's work with a vague hope that the Hume we are familiar with may prove to be more or less ficticious, we are disappointed. Any apparent compromises or mitigations of his scepticism turn out to be illusory. There is in Hume also a duality, but very different from that of Descartes. He was the "natural" man, in his non-reflective moods, believing and acting in obedience to instinct and "custom"; the sceptic in his reflective mood, doubting the more, the harder he reflected.

Professor Laird does not conceal his admiration for Hume's

genius. At the same time, in his brief but adequate critical comments, he is unsparing in laying bare his inconsistencies and errors. Hume was one of the greatest masters of dialectic and of subtle psychological observation. But it is clear that not only in his history, but also in his philosophy, he was in the ban of an obstinate bias.

J. SHINE

Books Received

AGATSON, LUDWIG. Das Daseinsproblem. Das primäre Sein. (Herder, 4.50 M.)
BALDE, JEAN. Les Dames de la Miséricorde. (Grasset, 15 fr.).
BANDAS, RANDOLPH. Contemporary Philosophy and Thomistic Principles. (Bruce Publishing Co., $4.50).
BARDY, G. Origène : La Prière et Exhortation au Martyre. (Gabalda, 12 fr.)
BARNICKEL, J. B. Clavius Welteinheitskalender. Beiträge zur Kalender—Reform, Hefte 1—Feste Ostern. (Bamberg : Reindl, pp.128).
BROSNAN, J. BRODIE. What is Meant by Piety ? (Burns Oates, 5/-).
BRAUER, T. Catholic Social Movement in Germany (Oxford : C. S. G., 6d.).
BUTLER, ALBAN. The Lives of the Saints. Vol. VII., July. Edited by Herbert Thurston, S.J., and Donald Attwater. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
BUTLER, CUTHBERT. Ways of Christian Life. Old Spirituality for Modern Men. (Sheed and Ward, 7/6).
BOYER, CHARLES. Saint Augustin. Moralistes Chrétiens. (Gabalda, 20 fr.).
CARTON DE WIART, ETIENNE. L'Eglise. Sa Nature, Sa Hiérarchie. (Beauchesne, 10 fr.).
CHESTERTON, G. K. Sidelights on New London and Newer York. (Sheed & Ward, 6/-).
CRONIN, MARY. Sir Redmond Intervenes. (Talbot Press, 5/-).
CURTAYNE, ALICE. A Recall to Dante. (Sheed & Ward, 6/-).
DAWSON, CHRISTOPHER. The Making of Europe. An Introduction to the History of European Unity. (Sheed & Ward, 15/-).
DECOHRS, E. Maurice de Guérin. Essai de Biographie psychologique. (Bloud & Gay, 48 fr.).
DOHET, P. Servir deux Maîtres. (Beauchesne, 15 fr.).
DOUGHTY, ARTHUR G. Report of the Public Archives of Canada for year 1931. (Ottawa, $1.00).
DUKE, JOHN A. The Columban Church. (Oxford University Press, 10/-).
DUPLESSY, EUGENE. Exposé de la Religion. Livre I.—Le Dogme Catholique. (Bonne Presse, 10 fr.).
FARGES, JACQUES. Méthode d'Olympe : Le Banquet des dix Vierges. (Gabalda, 9 fr.).
GALTIER, P. Sin and Penance. (Sands, 3/6).
GASPARRI, CARDINAL. The Catholic Catechism. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
GORCE, DENYS. Lettres Spirituelles de Saint Jérome. (Gabalda, 10 fr.).
GOUGAUD, LOUIS. Christianity in Celtic Lands. (Sheed & Ward, 18/-).
GOYAU, GEORGES. Les Prêtres des Missions Etrangères. (Grasset, 15 fr.).
Ozanam. Collection "Les Grands Coeurs." (Flammarion, 12 fr.)
GRIMAL, JULES. With Jesus to the Priesthood. Meditations for Seminarians and Priests. (Philadelphia : Dolphin Press, $2.75).
GROLLEAU, CHARLES. L'Ordre de Citeaux. La Trappe. (Grasset, 15 fr.).
GURIAN, W. Bolshevism. Theory and Practice. (Sheed & Ward, 10/6).
GWYNN, DENIS. Pius XI. (The Holme Press, 5/-).
HALDANE, J. B. S. The Causes of Evolution. (Longmans, 7/6).
HESELTINE, G. C. Great Yorkshiremen. (Longmans, 16/-).
HYNCK, R. W. Konnersreuth. Medical and Psychological Study of the Case of Teresa Neumann. (Burns Oates, 4/-).
I. C. Iona or the Sin of Columcille. A Poem. (Dundalgan Press, 4d.).

JAEGHER, PAUL DE. Virtue of Trust. Meditations. (Burns Oates, 8/6).
JOLIVET, REGIS. Etudes sur le Problème de Dieu dans la Philosophie contemporaine. (Vitte, pp. 240).
JORDAN, W. K. The Development of Religious Toleration in England. From the Beginnings of the Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth. (Allen & Unwin, 21/-).
JOURDA, PIERRE. Marguerite d' Angoulême. Reine de Navarre. (Desclée De Brouwer, 20 fr.).
KENNEY, JAMES F. The Founding of Churchill. Journal of Captain James Knight, Governor in Hudson Bay, 1717. (Dent, $2.50).
LABRIOLLE, PIERRE DE. Ecrits spirituels de S. Augustin. (Gabalda, 8 fr.).
LECLERCQ, JACQUES. Essais de Morale catholique. (Beauchesne, 20 fr.)
LUDDY, AILBE J. The Order of Citeaux. (Gill, 4/-).
MAAS, NICHOLAS. Treasure of the Liturgy. (Bruce Publishing Co., $2.25).
MACLAGAN, SIR ED. Jesuits and the Great Mogul. (Burns Oates, 17/6).
MAGNIN, IGNACE. Saint Jean de Dieu. Edition revue et illustrée. (Beauchesne, pp. 222).
MAILLARDOZ, CH. DE. Le Décalogue de l' Autorité paternelle. (Bonne Presse, 4 fr.).
MANN, HORACE K. Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages. Vol. XVIII.—Boniface VIII to Benedict XI. (Kegan Paul, 15/-).
MARIQUE, PIERRE J. History of Christian Education. Vol. III. (Fordham University Press, pp. 286).
MARTINDALE, C. C. What are Saints? (Sheed & Ward, 1/-).
MATHIEU, H. Faut-il avoir une Religion. (Bonne Presse, 2 fr.).
MERKELBACH, B. H. Summa Theologiae Moralis. Tomus II.—De Virtutibus Moralibus. (Desclée De Brouwer, 40 fr.).
MORTON, J. B. Sobieski, King of Poland. (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 10/6).
NOBLE, R. P. Les Passions dans la Vie morale. (Lethielleux, 30 fr.).
OLIVERO, FEDERICO. Correnti Mistiche nella Letteratura Inglese Moderna. (Torino: Bocca, L. 32).
O'SULLIVAN, THOMAS. Romantic Hidden Kerry. (Kerryman Ltd., 7/6).
PONELLE, LOUIS. St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 1515-1595. (Sheed & Ward, 16/-).
POULET, CHARLES. Histoire du Christianisme. Fascicule I.—Antiquité. (Beauchesne, 20 fr.).
PRUNEL, LOUIS. Saint Germaine d'Auxerre. (Gabalda, 7 fr. 50).
QUINN, HUGH. Mrs. McConaghy's Money; A Quiet Twelfth; Collecting the Rent. (Constable, 7/6).
RAND, BENJAMIN. Berkeley's American Sojourn. (Harvard Press, $2.).
REID, H. S. Two Soldiers and a Lady. Novel. (Constable, 7/6).
RUSH, MGR. La Doctrine sociale de l' Eglise. (Bonne Presse, 2 fr.).
RUSHTON, GERALD W. The Dynasty of Pius. (Burns Oates, 2/-).
SHEED, F. J. (Editor). The Irish Way. (Sheed & Ward, 6/-).
SISTER OF NOTRE DAME. Blessed Julie Billiart. (Sands, 2/-).
SMITHSON, ANNIE. Leaves of Myrtle. (Talbot Press, 5/-).
SOLOVIEV, Vladimir. Les Fondements Spirituels de la Vie. (Beauchesne).
SOUBIGOU, LOUIS. Dans la Beauté rayonnante des Psaumes. Anthologie des Psaumes. (Lethielleux, 18 fr.).
SPALDING, H. S. Catholic Colonial Maryland. (Bruce Publishing Co., $2.50).
SPENGLER, OSWALD. Man and Technics. (Allen & Unwin, 6/-).
STEBBING, G. Outline of the History of Philosophy. (Sands, 2/6).
VARANO, FRANCESCO S. Il Problema della Storia in Xénopol; L'Ipotesi nella Filosofia di Ernesto Naville. (Gubbio: "Oderisi," L. 5 each).
VONIER, ANSCAR. Christ the King of Glory. (Burns Oates, 5/-).
WALSH, PAUL (Editor). Saint Patrick, 432-1932. Fifteenth Centenary Memorial Book. (Catholic Truth Society, 2/6).
ZEILLER, J. Léon Ollé-Laprune. Moralistes Chrétiens. (Gabalda, 20 fr.).
ZIMMERN, HELEN. Schopenhauer. Life and Philosophy. (Allen & Unwin, 7/6).

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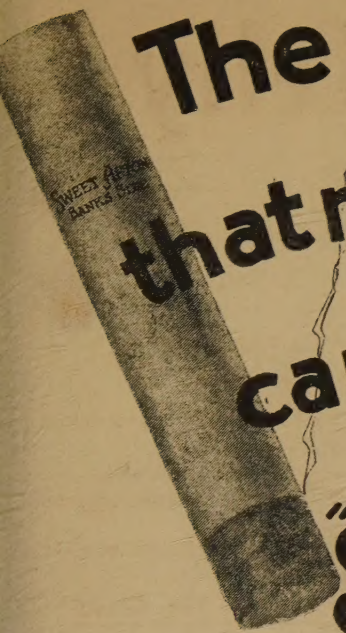

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